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**FURTHER SOURCES
OF
VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY**

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CONTENTS.

	<u>PAGE.</u>
1. Kampilidēva's inscription in the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi.	1
2. (a) Tātapiṇṇama.	"
(b) Kotikānti Rāghava.	"
3. Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr and Kampila.	"
4. Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp and Kampila.	2
5. The siege of Kummaṭa.	"
6. The retreat of Kampila and Bahā-ud-Dīn to the fort of Hosdurg, and the conquest of Hosdurg.	3
7. The kingdoms that came into existence as a consequence of a series of rebellions against Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq.	5
8. Sōmidēva and his achievements.	6
9. The foundation of Vidyānagara.	"
10. "	8
11. "	"
12. The foundation of Vijayanagara.	9
13. Vidyāranya Vṛttānta.	13
14. Vidyāranya Kālajñāna.	15
15. Kālajñāna of Śivayya.	16
16. The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara.	17
17. Chronology.	19
18. (a) The kings who ruled over the Kurnool District.	"
(b) Chronology of the Tuļuva kings.	20
19. (a) Chronology of the Tuļuva and the early Āravīḍu kings.	21
(b) "	22
20. Atakalagundū inscription.	22
21. Ākumallā inscription.	23
22. Harihara I and 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh I.	23
23. 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh I and Khaipras.	24
24. (a) Harihara I and the village administration.	24
(b) "	25
(c) "	25
(d) "	25
(e) A lease deed.	25
(f) "	25
(g) "	25

	PAGE
25. <i>Bukka I.</i> 2	
26. <i>Bukka I and Mādhava Vidyārāya.</i> ,	
27. <i>Bukka I and Cikka Vodayalu.</i> 2	
28. <i>Bukka I and the Mussalmans.</i> 3	
29. <i>Harihara II.</i> ,	
30. <i>Vittihalāmbā, the queen of Harihara II.</i> 3	
31. <i>Harihara II and the Velamas.</i> ,	
32. <i>Rāmacandra and his ancestors.</i> 3	
33. <i>Pānugallu inscription.</i> ,	
34. (a) <i>Bukka II and Telingāna.</i> ,	
(b) <i>Vijaya-Bhūpati and his descendants.</i> 3	
35. (a) <i>Śrīraṅgam affairs up to Harihara II.</i> 4	
(b) <i>Periya Kṛṣṇarāya-Uttama-Nambi's services to the temple of Śrīraṅgam.</i> 41	
(c) <i>How the dēvadāyas passed into the hands of the Rāya.</i> 42	
36. (a) <i>Descendants of Sōmidēva.</i> ,	
(b) <i>Pinnama of Āreviḍu.</i> ,	
37. <i>Virūpanṇa Udaiyār and Śrīraṅgam.</i> ,	
38. <i>Dēvarāya I.</i> 43	
39. <i>The Reddi invasion (i)</i> ,	
40. (ii) ,	
41. <i>Inscriptions of Mallā Reddi (i)</i> 44	
42. (ii) ,	
43. <i>Melapelli inscription of prince Dēvarāya.</i> ,	
44. <i>Dēvarāya I and Vijaya and Ahobala Cōḍa.</i> 45	
45. <i>Vijayarāya.</i> ,	
46. <i>Dēvarāya I and Annadēva Cōḍa.</i> ,	
47. <i>Vijayarāya. (Vijaya ?)</i> 46	
48. <i>Prītagraṇī Tippa and the temples of Vijayanagara.</i> ,	
49. <i>Dēvarāya II and Kondāviḍu.</i> 47	
50. <i>Kondāviḍu after the fall of the Reddis (i)</i> ,	
51. (ii) 48	
52. <i>Dēvarāya II and Pūsapāṭi Rācīraju.</i> ,	
53. (a) <i>The conquests of Rācīraju Tamma.</i> ,	
(b) " 49	
(c) " ,	
54. <i>Dēvarāya II and God Telungurāya of Śrīkālolanu</i> ,	
55. <i>Pura Singa Annapōta.</i> 50	
56. <i>Māhaya Linga.</i> ,	
57. <i>The Muhammadan officers in the service of the kings of Vijayanagara.</i> ,	
58. <i>Dēvarāya II.</i> ,	

					PAGE.
59.	Uttama-Nambi.	...	...	...	52
60.	Social conditions in the 15th century.	...	...	...	"
(a)	Palnād.	...	...	...	"
(b)	The Masara kingdom	...	...	...	54
(c)	The Renādu country.	...	...	...	"
(d)	Vyāpāris of the west.	...	...	...	"
(e)	Karnāṭa.	...	...	...	55
(f)	Vijayanagara.	...	...	...	"
(g)	Nārivāgu.	...	...	...	"
(h)	Mārella Śīma.	...	...	...	"
(i)	Drāviḍa.	...	...	...	56
(j)	The position of a dancing woman.	...	...	...	Addenda
61.	Mallikārjuna.	...	...	...	"
62.	Peda Singama Anna and Pōlēpalli Bukka.	...	...	...	"
63.	The services of Kamparāja Malla and Jannaya Nāyaka.	...	...	...	57
64.	Services of Kamparāja.	...	...	...	"
65.	Services of Tirumalainātha Uttama-Nambi.	...	...	...	"
66.	Services of Sāluva Tirumalai Rāja.	...	...	...	58
67.	Services of Kṛṣṇarāya Uttama-Nambi.	...	...	...	59
68.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	...	...	...	"
69.	The Gajapatis.	...	...	...	"
70.	Akaṭabhānudēva and Kapilēśvara.	...	...	...	60
71.	Gajapati Kapilēśvara.	...	...	...	"
72.	The victories of Gajapati Kapilēśvara and his subordinates— (i) Gajarāvu Tippa.	...	...	...	62
73.	The victories of Gajapati Kapilēśvara and his subordinates— (ii) Dāmera Timma.	...	...	...	"
74.	Nirvānarāya alias Pedarāya.	...	...	...	63
75.	Virūpākṣa.	...	...	...	"
76.	Tammaya Basayā Reddi.	...	...	...	"
77.	Sāluva Narasimha.	...	...	...	"
78.	The services of Kandādai Rāmānuja Dāsar.	...	...	...	"
79.	The revolt of the Sambēṭa chiefs—(i) Sambēṭa Vīra Narasimha.	...	...	...	64
80.	The revolt of the Sambēṭa chiefs—(ii) Sambēṭa Śīva Rāja	...	...	...	65
81.	Sāluva Narasimha and Sambēṭa Guravarāja.	...	...	...	66
82.	The war between Sāluva Narasimha and Sāluva Malidēvarāja.	...	...	...	"
83.	Kavutāla Sima during the reign of Sāluva Narasimha.	...	...	...	67
84.	Puruṣottama Gajapati	...	...	...	"
85.	The Āravīdu kings.	...	...	...	70
86.	Āravīṭi Bukka.	...	...	...	"
87.	Sāluva Narasimha's war upon the Qutb Shāh and the Gajapati.	...	...	...	"
88.	Puruṣottama.	...	...	...	"

89. Kapilendra and Puruṣottama.	...	...	...	...
90. Narasa Nayaka.	...	...	...	...
91. Immadi Narasimha and Narasa Nayaka.	...	...	...	...
92. Immadi Narasimha and Timmarasayya.	...	...	...	...
93. Pratāparudra Gajapati.	...	...	...	...
94. "	...	...	...	...
95. Vira Narasingarāya's dynasty.	...	...	...	...
95. (a) Konērirāja and Śrīraṅgam.	...	...	...	...
96. Vira Narasimha.	...	...	...	...
97. Vira Narasimha and Ummaitūr	...	...	...	...
97. (a) Vira Narasingaraya's coronation.	...	...	...	...
98. Bukkanāju Rāmarāju.	...	...	...	...
99. Bukkanāju Rāmarāju's date	...	...	...	...
100. The invasion of Savāyi Bibbi.	...	...	...	...
101. Rāmarāja's victories.	...	...	...	...
102. Sambēta Guravarāja.	...	...	...	...
103. Vira Narasimha and the Portuguese.	...	...	...	...
104. Military policy.	...	...	...	...
105. The kingdom and the capital.	...	...	...	...
106. The Pūtastī of Ālamkonda.	...	...	...	...
107. Āravīdu Rāmarāja's children.	...	...	...	...
108. Tāmbrāju Timma.	...	...	...	...
109. The coronation of Kṛṣṇadevarāya.	...	...	...	...
110. Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Sambēta Guravarāja.	...	...	...	...
111. The origin of the Keladi chiefs.	...	...	...	...
112. Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Caudapa.	...	...	...	...
113. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's conquests.	...	...	...	...
114. (a) Capture of Bīdar.	...	...	...	...
114. (b) A description of the capture of Kalubariga.	...	...	...	...
115. (c) "	...	...	...	...
115. (d) The siege of Kalubariga.	...	...	...	...
116. The revolt and subjugation of the Pājaiyagār of Pattūrūpalem.	...	...	...	...
117. (a) Kṛṣṇadevarāya's victories.	...	...	...	...
117. (b) "	...	...	...	...
117. (c) "	...	...	...	...
117. (d) "	...	...	...	...
117. (e) "	...	...	...	...
118. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's wars.	...	...	...	...
119. About the kingdom of Orissa.	...	...	...	...
120. Timmarasayya on the character of the Gajapati	...	...	...	...
121. Gvāmīya at the capital of the Gajapati	...	...	...	...

		PAGE.
121.	Conquest of the kingdom of the Gajapati by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.	112
122.	Timmarāju Kondarāju, the governor of Kondaviḍu.	... 113
123.	Kṛṣṇarāya's campaigns against the Gajapati. "
124.	Kṛṣṇarāya's conquest of Warangal.	... ... 114
125.	Kṛṣṇarāya's invasion of Kaliṅga. "
126.	Kṛṣṇarāya's attack upon Cuttack.	... ... 115
127.	Kṛṣṇarāya's war on Kaliṅga. "
128.	Kṛṣṇarāya and the Portuguese.	... ... 117
129.	(a) Kṛṣṇarāya and the Muhammadans.	... ... 118
	(b) The affairs of Bijāpūr.	... ... 120
	(c) Precautionary measures at Ahmadānagara and Golkonda.	123
	(d) Punishments and rewards in the Mussalman Kingdoms.	124
	(e) Preparations of war in the Mussalman Kingdoms.	... 125
	(f) Meeting of the ministerial council	... ... 128
	(g) "	... ... 130
	(h) The summoning of the Amara-Nāyakas.	... ... 132
130.	(a) Victory of Nandyāla Nārapa over Quly Qutb Shāh.	... 135
	(b) Muslim chiefs killed by Kṛṣṇarāya. "
131.	(a) Sāluva Timmarasa. "
	(b) "	... ... 136
132.	Allasāni Peddana.	... ... 137
133.	Śriraṅga, the father of Aliya Rāmarāja "
134.	Viśvanātha Nāyaka. "
135.	Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and the Tambalas of Puṣpagiri.	... ... 138
136.	Chess at Kṛṣṇarāya's Court. "
137.	On principles of government.	... ... 139
138.	Administrative measures of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.	... ... 141
139.	Rājanīti by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.	... ... 152
140.	Acyutarāya and Rāmarāja.	... ... 168
141.	Acyutarāya's victories. "
142.	The Gajapati invasion.	... ... 169
143.	(a) Gani Timmā Nāyadu. "
	(b) "	... ... 170
	(c) "	... ... 171
144.	Acyutarāya's patronage of literature.	... ... 173
145.	Rāmarāju Timma's sons.	... ... 174
146.	Sāri Ahobala Nāyadu. "
147.	Periya Rāmappa.	... ... 175
148.	Acyutadēvarāya.	... ... 176
149.	Rāmaya Bhāskara. "
150.	Rāmaya Bhāskara or Bāca. "
151.	Origin of the Madura Nāyaks. "

152.	Origin of the Madura Nayaks.	...	...	...
153.	"	...	...	...
154.	Viśvanātha Nayaka.	...	...	...
155.	"	...	...	...
156.	Gani Timma and Cābōli Timma.	...	...	...
157.	Police arrangements of the time of Acyuta.	...	...	...
158.	Rāmarāju Śrīraṅga and his sons.	...	...	...
159.	Rāmarāja's marriage with Kṛṣṇarāya's daughter.	...	...	...
160.	Śrīrāngarāja and his son Rāmarāja	...	...	...
161.	Rāmarāju Timma and Salakarāju Timma	...	...	...
162.	Aliya Rāmarāja.	...	...	...
163.	(a) Salakam Timmaya and Aliya Rāmarāja.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
	(c) "	...	...	...
164.	(a) Aliya Rāmarāja.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
165.	Usurpation of Salakam Timmaya.	...	...	...
166.	The exploits of the Pemmasāni chiefs.	...	...	...
167.	Timmarāju Ciina-Timma and his brothers.	...	...	...
168.	Ciina-Timma.	...	...	...
169.	Bamsarāja Vitthala	...	...	...
170.	(a) Two stages in the growth of Rāmarāja's power.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
171.	Rāmarāja's conquest of Kalyāni and Kaduburuga.	...	...	...
172.	Bamsarāja's victory over Barid.	...	...	...
173.	Rāmarāja's victories over Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar.	...	...	...
174.	Sādātīva Nayaka's victories over minor chiefs.	...	...	...
175.	Doddā Sankanna Nayaka.	...	...	...
176.	Doddā Sankanna's other victories.	...	...	Addend
177.	The capture of Goa	...	...	...
	(a) Sankanna's other victories.	...	...	...
178.	Okka Sankanna Nayaka.	...	...	...
179.	Okka Sankanna's victory over Salabhata Khāna.	...	...	...
180.	(a) Velugoti Timmaya Nayana.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
181.	(a) The exploits of Timmaya Yara Timma.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
182.	(a) Kepdoju, the barber.	...	...	...
	(b) "	...	...	...
183.	(a) Saliśīva.	...	...	...
	(b) Viśvanātha Nayaka and Śrīrangam.	...	...	...
184.	The death of Rāmarāja.	...	...	...

		PAGE.
185. (a) The battle of Rāksasi-Taṅgadī.	...	119
(b)	"	"
(c)	"	"
(d)	"	200
(e)	"	"
(f)	"	"
(g)	"	201
(h)	"	"
(i)	"	"
(j)	"	202
(k)	"	"
(l)	"	"
(m)	"	203
(n)	"	"
(o)	"	"
(p)	"	204
(q)	"	"
(r)	"	"
186. Rāmarājana Bakhair.	...	"
187. The battle of Rāksasi-Taṅgadī.	...	243
188. Puligadda Pāpanarasayya.	...	244
189. (a) Muhammadan atrocities after Rāksasi-Taṅgadī.	...	245
(b)	"	"
(c)	"	"
190. (a) Condition of the country after the battle of Rāksasi-Taṅgadī.	...	"
(b)	"	246
(c)	"	"
(d)	"	"
(e)	"	247
(f)	"	"
(g)	"	"
(h)	"	"
(i)	"	248
(j)	"	"
(k)	"	"
(l)	"	249
(m) Siege of Ādōni by Daulat Khān.	...	"
191. Sadāśiva's rule after Rāksasi-Taṅgadī...	...	"
192. "	...	"
193. (a) Sadāśiva and Tirumala.	...	"

(b) Sadāśiva and Tirumala.	...	...	...
194. The last phase of Sadāśiva's reign.	...	...	...
195. Police arrangements during the reign of Sadāśiva.	...	...	...
196. Customs: duties during Sadāśiva's reign.	...	...	...
197. Tirumala.	...	...	...
198. Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and Śriraṅgam.	...	...	...
199. Tirumala and Veṅkaṭa.	...	...	...
200. (a) Śriranga I.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
(c) "	...	...	...
(d) "	...	...	...
201. Velugōti Kastūri Raṅgappa Nāyadu	...	...	...
202. (a) Kastūri-Raṅga.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
203. Śrirangarāya I.	...	...	...
204. (a) Veṅkaṭa II.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
205. Veṅkaṭa II and the siege of Penugonda.	...	...	...
206. (a) Veṅkaṭa II and his nobles.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
207. (a) Velugōti Cennaya-Venkatapati.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
208. Saleva Makaraju and his sons.	...	...	...
209. Cennappa Nāyadu, the grandson of Gani Timmā Nāyadu	...	...	...
210. Yēcama.	...	...	...
211. Veṅkaṭa II and his rebellious subordinates.	...	...	...
212. Veṅkaṭa II and Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja.	...	...	...
213. (a) Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
214. The Maṭla chiefs in the reign of Veṅkaṭa II.	...	...	...
215. (a) Aggressions of Maṭla Ellamarāja.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
216. (a) Maṭla Ananta, son of Ella.	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
(c) "	...	...	...
217. War between the Pemmasāni and the Maṭla chiefs.	...	...	...
218. Yēcama Nāyadu (The siege of Uttaramallūr).	...	...	...
219. (a) "	...	...	...
(b) "	...	...	...
220. Vellore, the capital of Veṅkaṭa II.	...	...	...
221. Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha.	...	...	...

		PAGE.
222.	Venkaṭa II's expedition against Madhura.	282
(a)	Tirumalarāya's coronation.	283
223.	Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and Śrīraṅgam.	284
224.	(a) Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha and his achievements.	"
(b)	"	"
225.	The settlement of a communal dispute during the time of Venkaṭa II.	285
226.	Bandits in the time of Venkaṭa II.	"
227.	Highway robbery in the time of Venkaṭa II	286
228.	(a) Condition of the country during the reign of Venkaṭa II.	287
(b)	"	"
(c)	"	"
(d)	"	288
(e)	"	"
(f)	"	289
(g)	"	290
(h)	"	293
229.	Śrīraṅga II and Rāyaprabhu of Pudukōṭa.	"
230.	(a) Anarchy after the death of Venkaṭapatirāya.	"
(b)	"	294
231.	Yācama and Jaggarāja.	"
232.	The History of Yācama Nāyaka.	296
233.	Kumāra Raṅgappa, son of Yācama.	"
234.	Victories of Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha.	297
235.	War between the Maṭla and the Velugōṭi chiefs.	"
236.	Maṭla Kumāra Ananta.	298
237.	Rāmadēvarāya : Last days of the Maṭla chiefs.	"
238.	(a) The fall of Kandanavōlu.	300
(b)	Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha and the Ādil Khān.	301
239.	The Muhammadan conquest of Kurnool.	"
240.	Venkaṭa III and Penugonda.	"
241.	The Muhammadan conquest of Cittavēli.	303
242.	Velugōṭi Siṅga, son of Venkaṭādri	304
243.	Śrīraṅga III.	305
244.	(a) Muhammadan conquest of the Vijayanagara Kingdom.	"
(b)	"	306
(c)	The siege of Gingee.	"
245.	(a) The Āyagārs.	310
(b)	"	311
246.	Caudāraju Cennamarāju vs. Dvārakacerla Mallamarāju.	312
247.	Mārutala Vumma-Tati Reddi vs. Uṇḍavēli Ankayya.	313

248. The case pertaining to the Karanika mirāśi of Hanumanigundam and Pērusōmala. (i)	...	...
249. " (ii)	...	...
250. Case of Dudyāla Peddibhaṭlu Mallu Bhaṭlu of Karivena.	...	...
251. The settlement of a suit regarding the Reddarikam of Navanandula-Nittūru.	...	...

1. KAMPILIDĒVA'S INSCRIPTION IN THE PRASANNA VIRŪPĀKṢA TEMPLE AT HAMPI.

The temple of Śiva, the lingas of which were set up by Vīra Kampilidēva, son of Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, for these three viz., Māda Nāyaketi, Singeya Nāyaka, and Parameya Nāyaka.

Mac. MSS. 15-3-23, p. 41.

2 (a). TĀTAPINNAMA.

Tātapinnama, to whom his enemies bowed, obtained the title of *mannepuli*, having defeated Ceruku Rājendra in battle, and deprived him of his kingdom.

2 (b). KOTIKANTĪ RĀGHAVA.

Tātapinnama, who was distinguished by his titles, begot Kotikanṭī Rāghava by his wife Sūrāmbikā who resembled Lakṣmī. Having gained a brilliant victory in battle over the formidable army of Kampili Rāya, he (Rāghava) wrested from him the title, *gaṇḍara-gūli* (the bull among the heroes), and won the applause of kings who were his equals.

Dvīpada-Bālabhāgavatam, Mac. MSS. 13-2-19, p. 284.

3. MALIK NĀ'IB KĀFŪR AND KAMPILA.

THE STARTING OF MALIK NĀ'IB TOWARDS KAMPILA, AND HIS QUICK RETURN.

When the whole country came under his control, he (Malik Nā'ib) came out of the city (Dēvgir) for hunting. He plundered every place he visited, and set fire to the dominions of refractory chiefs. Suddenly, he came upon Kummatā, where he stayed for one week. He laid waste the country and removed from it the undesirable elements.

When the army had taken rest from (the toils of) that war, he returned quickly from that place after one week.

no enemy met him on the field (of battle), he hastened towards his country (Marhatta) in great pomp.

Isamy : Futiūh-us-Salātīn, pp. 327-8.

4. BAHĀ-UD-DIN GARSHĀSP AND KAMPILA.

When he (Garshāsp) reached the fort of Sāgar, he took his women and children away from that place. He abandoned his troops and property, and went from that place towards Kampila. When he reached Kummaṭa in the course of his flight, he crept into the fort for protection. Kampila offered him protection with all his soul, and both of them were united in friendship. He said to Garshāsp, "O ! brave man, don't be consumed by sorrow, because you have been defeated. I have not seen in the world a chief who has never been defeated in the battle-field. Indeed, the affairs of this world go on in this fashion. At certain times you should stand firm, and at others flee. Don't be sorry on account of the changing conditions ; for few people remain always in the same condition. O illustrious hero ! you have done well by coming to this land. Now, so long as the pulse moves in my body, I won't take in a breath except in friendship to you. I swear by the Sun, the sacred thread (I wear), and the idols (I worship) that you shall find me faithful. If all (the people of the) world were to join together to take your life, they cannot cause you as much injury as a grain of barley. Don't grieve, and be cheerful always, because you have reached the house of safety". When some time passed after this, the forces of the king came one after another. The army was surging like the salt sea, coming with force upon that fort, from all sides.

Ibid, pp. 413-14.

5. THE SIEGE OF KUMMATA.

THE ARRIVAL OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ SHĀH, AT DAULATĀBĀD, AND HIS DESPATCHING AHMAD AYĀZ AGAINST KAMPILA, AND HIS IMMEDIATE ARRIVAL AT KUMMATA.

The king marched the army from the city (Dehli) and led it towards Daulatābād. When he heard of the defeat of the

mighty Garshāsp, he summoned Malik Zāda to his presence. By the order of that king of the fortunate star, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn and Malik Qutb-ul-mulk marched towards Kampila twice, (and) being defeated, they turned their backs on both the occasions. On the third occasion, Malik Zāda came from the court of the king against that fort.....(three couplets omitted)..... In short, when Malik Zāda marched with the army, he went to Kummatā at once. He moved forward, according to the custom of commanders-in-chief, with men of distinction and heroes. Garshāsp and Kampila who were united in mind and spirit came out to the field of battle twice or thrice, but being defeated remained finally within the fort. Blood was shed there for a month or two; and tumult arose from inside and outside (the fort). When the condition of the garrison came to a crisis, the besiegers became bold in fighting. One day, the commander of the king of Hindustan, whose counsel was pleasing to his master, assembled all the men of the army in the place of battle. After some time, that illustrious knight hurled the ranks of the assailants into the fort. The warriors ran in from every direction, and entered the fort, forcing their way with daggers.

Ibid, pp. 44-15.

6. THE RETREAT OF KAMPILA AND BAHĀ-UD-DĪN TO THE FORT OF HOSDURG, AND THE CONQUEST OF HOSDURG.

At the time when Bahā-ud-Dīn and Kampila saw that the fort had passed from their hands, one day, they left the fort and went towards hills and forests. They went to Hosdurg in pain and vexation with a revengeful army behind them (in pursuit); and they gave battle in that fort for one month, with arrows, spears, darts, and stones. One day, the whole army shot forth and forced their way into the fort. The earth fell into confusion and the air was filled with dust. When the knight, Garshāsp, saw this upheaval, he meditated flight from (considerations of) prudence. At that juncture he bound three or four horses firmly together, and brought them down from

the fort, in the manner of men experienced in war. Having seated his women upon two or three horses, he took his seat upon another, and rode away. As he went, he turned back and sheathed any person who pursued him. In the face of the enemy's army he forced his way through, night and day.

That faithful Hindu, Kampila, like a (true) warrior, did not leave the place. The danger threatening his friends seized him by the head, and hurled the whole of his family in peril. He fought fiercely in that battle, and at last when he passed away from the world, he received many wounds from a shower of arrows. He did not want to fly without laying down his head like men who follow the path of the faith. Heaven gave the royal army the good tidings of victory.

All the soldiers entered the fort and engaged themselves in plundering. They captured and killed many Hindus, and every one seized much wealth. When Malik Zāda subdued Hosdurg, he brought before him a man alive. Malik Zāda said, "Make him identify the men of the place". He commanded him to have a look at every head which the men of the army brought before him. The Hindu looked at the heads, and he drank the blood of his own liver in grief. He saw a head which was red on account of the wounds of the arrows, and raised a shout (of lamentation). In his grief he cast much earth upon his head, and plucked all (the hair of) his head and beard. Malik Zāda asked "What is this agitation about? whose head is this? what is the cause of this lamentation?" Weeping much, the Hindu replied, " (This is) the head of our king whose death has increased our sorrow and anxiety". The celebrated Malik Zāda quipped that they should flay the head and put the skin on a staff of gold, so that the enemies might become sad and the heads happy; then, they should fill the skin of that head with fire, and set fire to the fort. Malik Zāda sent the skin of that head with the news (of the victory) at once to the king. When he despatched in pursuit of Garshāsp, a large army of

7. THE KINGDOMS THAT CAME INTO EXISTENCE AS A
CONSEQUENCE OF A SERIES OF REBELLIONS
AGAINST MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHHLAK.

“ During the time of this worthless king who kept his troth with no one, rebellious men grew powerful. On every side arose uproar and noise; on every side men of enterprise lifted up their heads; and in every country ruled a new king. Ma’bar became the seat of a separate government, and in that country a Sayyid became king. The country of Tiling rose in rebellion, and the fort of Tiling* passed from the hands of the Turks. An apostate seized the country of Kannad, and captured (the territory) from Gūty to the boundary of Ma’bar. (The country) from Kahrām and Sāmāna to the Punjāb and the districts of Lahore and Multān were devastated. In that country, families of saints of firm faith were afflicted with tyranny. In Lakhnauty, a king with a royal canopy appeared on the throne. The whole of Tirhut and Gaur became recalcitrant, struck by a destructive wave of rebellion. Mālwa showed an inclination towards rebellion, and the infidels recaptured it excepting a few places. The whole country of Mandu was seized, and the Mussalmans shut themselves in the forts like the Hindus (in the past). The whole kingdom of Gujarāt rebelled, the infidels increased (in power), and (the power of) the Mussalmans became less. At last when the tyranny of the king passed beyond bounds, the country of Marhatta turned against him. The people rebelled against that mean king, because they saw in him a great inclination towards heathenism. His kingdom was thrown into disorder from one end to the other, and all his officers turned against him. No power remained in him for war; (and) just as a lion suffering from skin disease would become a frog-eater, he destroyed with the sword of oppression a band of wretches (who were) around him, (and) whose blood he was destined to shed; and his army decreased by day and night. Owing to severe oppression, famine, and death-sentences all the people were seized with hatred towards him.

Ibid, pp. 570-71

8. SÖMIDÈVA AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS.

And Gonkaladèvi, the second wife of that Pinnaya, the best of kings, gave birth to the hero, Sömidèva, the moon to the ocean, that is, the Lunar dynasty.

Sömidèva's achievements :

That preserver of the Lunar race who had the good fortune of Indra, having carried on a famous campaign with great energy, scaled, on a single day, the walls of seven forts, viz., the impregnable Mosalimadugu, the famous Sätäniköta, the renowned Kandanavölu, the strong Kalvakolanu, the marvellous Räcür, that Etagiri, and the incomparable Ganginënikonda. That magnificent crest-jewel of the kings, who had the title of 'the destroyer of the fourteen forts', scaled the walls of Ganginënikonda, with great boldness ; and causing consternation to the enemies who opposed him, he cut off the hands and the feet of the unapproachable Gujjala Virinëni, Adabala Annu, Rudrappa Nâyaka, the famous Gaurareddi and Gangi Nâyaka ; and had their bodies tied to the pillars of the eastern gate. Having made a determined attack upon the fort of Manigilla, he captured it ; and as he was the punisher of the hostile kings, he beheaded the Gösangi chief, and offered his head as an oblation to the god Bhairava who presided over the tank in front of that city. Moreover, he caused much dread in battle to the Mussalman Muhammad; and when, being frightened, the latter named (his) son after the victor, he dispelled all his fear, and offered him protection. He also distributed in that place six thousand horses among the people who asked for them.

Dvipada-Balabhagavatam; Mac. MSS. 13-2-19, pp. 284-85.

9. THE FOUNDATION OF VIDYÄNAGARA.

The *paramahamsa-parivräjakäcärya*, the preceptor of the *Swämi Sankaräcärya*, defeated Mandana Miśra in the course of an *aväda* discussion. He composed a poem called the *Äśwamedha*, and established the Goddess, Särada, on a throne in the city of Śringapura. He took Pädapadmäcärya,

ṣṭakācārya, Hastāmalakācārya and Surēśvarācārya as his disciples and set up *mathas* in his name throughout the land, bounded by the four seas; which he left in the charge of his disciples. Then, he made Vidyāśāṅkara his disciple, and after some time secured release from the body.

Then the householder Mādhava who was living on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, migrated to the southern country, and having settled down at Pampā, meditated on the Goddess Akṣmī, with the object of obtaining wealth. The Goddess who appeared before him refused to comply with his request; it consoled him with a promise that she would grant him the object of his desire in his next birth. Mādhava then went to Vidyāśāṅkara, the pupil of Śaṅkarācārya, got himself ordained as a *sanyāsin*, and assumed the name of Vidyāranya. The Goddess then appeared to him in a dream, and said, "The Kinas and the Kirātas who seized this country are conducting themselves just as they please. Build a city in this country, and set up a king so that he may encourage virtue and punish evil." Vidyāranya was reflecting on the meaning of this dream for some time, when two poor Kṣatriya brothers called Harihara and Bukka, who migrated from the northern country, settled down in the south and having entered into marital relations with the Kurubas, were living in happiness. Harihara, the elder of the two brothers, dreamed that he could obtain great wealth, if he would go accompanied by his brother, Bukka, to Vidyāranya and seek his patronage. Accordingly, Harihara and Bukka went to Hampi, where they met Vidyāranya, and explained to him the dream. The sage, whereupon, summoned the people of the place, and questioned them about the past history of the shrine. They said that formerly king Triśaṅku of the Ikṣvāku race who visited the shrine granted to it the three and a half crores country between the Kṛṣṇā and the Sētu to get rid of his sins. When Vidyāranya heard of this, he turned to Harihara and Bukka, and said, "The God Virūpākṣa is the master of this whole kingdom. You should become the devotees of that

god, and having obtained his sanction, carry on the administration of the state in a virtuous manner." He then gave the name of Harihararāya to Harihara, and began to construct a city called Vidyānagara, but being misled by the blowing of a conch by a Vaiṣṇava mendicant, he laid the foundation stone a few minutes earlier than the auspicious time fixed by him. He discovered that as a consequence of this discrepancy the city which he was then beginning to construct, would fall after some years into the hands of the Mussalmans. Next he wrote a few *Kālajñāna* works such as *Vidyāranya Kālajñāna* and installed Harihararāya on the jewelled throne of Vidyānagara in S. S. 1258.

Keṭadīnṛpa Vijaya, pp. 14-16.

10. THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA.

SUMMARY.

Vidyāranya Bhāratīsvāmi founded the city of Vidyānagara at Virupākṣakṣetra, on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in Karnātaka. He ruled there for some years, and then crowned Harihara, the brother of Bukka, as the king of the place. Harihara ruled for some years; and he was succeeded by Bukkarāya Mahārāya who began to rule in the city of Vidyānagara.

The Kaifiyat of Kandananvīlu; L.R. 18, pp. 400-401.

11. THE FOUNDATION OF VIDYĀNAGARA.

Vidyāranya Śāṅkara Bhāratīsvāmi founded in his own name a city called Vidyānagara at Pampākṣetra on the bank of the Tungabhadrā in Karnātaka. He ruled there for some years, and crowned Harihara, the brother of Bukka, as the king of the place. Harihara ruled for some years.

The Kaifiyat of Śrīsailam; L.R. 33, pp. 472-73.

12. THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA.

The city was founded about Kollam 500 (A.D. 1324).

The Kālā Paloma, p. 75.

13. VIDYĀRANYA VRTTĀNTA.

The succession of the *ācāryas* who presided over the Sarasvatī Matha at Śṛīgagiri is as follows:—Surēśvara, his disciple Bōdhāyana, his disciple Jñānadhana, his disciple Jñānadhanottama, his disciple Jñānagiri, and his disciple Narasimha Muni; then came Vidyāśāṅkara, and his disciple was Bhāratikṛṣṇatīrtha.*

Bhāratikṛṣṇatīrtha was the son of a pious Brahman who resided in the city of Ōrugallu (Warangal), the capital of Pratāparudra. Having taken the holy orders, he assumed the name of Bhāratikṛṣṇatīrtha. His brother came in search of him. Before he embraced the ascetic mode of life, this Vidyāranya, who was the son of a learned Brahman, mastered the Vedas, and Sāstras; he examined the *Upāsanākhaṇḍa* and the *Gāyatrīpūṇaścaraṇa-śāstra* with the object of obtaining wealth; but failed in achieving his purpose. He became a prey to despair; and resolved in vexation to set fire to the *Upāsanāyantra*, the presiding deity of which did not deign to appear before him, notwithstanding his prolonged devotion and service. The goddess then made herself manifest and told him that he was destined to get in another birth the riches which he was eager to acquire. Consoling himself as well as he could, he set out on a pilgrimage and reached in course of time Śṛīgēri, where he met the famous teacher Vidyāśāṅkara. Having come to know that his younger brother, Bhāratītīrtha, received initiation at the hands of Vidyāśāṅkara, he also obtained admission into the *sanyāsa dīrṣama* by the grace of the same teacher, and assumed the name of Vidyāranya. Vidyāśāṅkara sat in *lambika* (*yōga*) for performing *tapas* and was soon transformed into a liṅga, to enshrine which the architect Jakkanācārya, built a temple in Saka 1263 Vikrama.

* According to the *Śṛīgagiri-Guruparampara* (See Śesbagiri Sastri, 'Notes on Sanskrit Manuscripts No. 2 pp. 100, 256), the *gurus* who followed Sankarācārya, Nityā-Bōdhāyanaśācārya, Jñānaghāṭaśācārya, Jñānottamaśācārya, Jñānāśācārya, Sinhagiriśīvācārya, Śīvaratīrtha, Narasimhaśātīrtha, Vidyāranya, etc.

Vidyāranya wrote a commentary on the Vedas and set out for Benares to pay a visit to the sage Vyāsa. As he was passing through the country in the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, a Brahmarākṣasa called Śringiri Bhatta, who lived on a tree at a certain place, begged him for some food to satisfy his hunger. Vidyāranya informed him that he was a *sanyāsin* and had nothing to give, and that he was proceeding to Benares to meet the sage, Vyāsa. But the Brahmarākṣasa insisted that he should be given food to satisfy his hunger, and promised in return to help him to discover Vyāsa who was accustomed to move about in disguise. Accompanied by the Brahmarākṣasa, Vidyāranya continued his journey, and arriving in due course at Benares, he traced, following the instructions of the Brahmarākṣasa, the whereabouts of Vyāsa and obtained from him the *ghaṭikā siddhis*.

The object of his visit to Benares being thus fulfilled, Vidyāranya, followed by the Brahmarākṣasa Śringiri Bhatta, returned to the Pampākṣetra, where he remained at the temple of the god Virūpākṣa, spending his time in the service of the deity. Māyāna and Sāyāna who were the ministers of the erstwhile Narapati kingdom came one day to Vidyāranya and begged him for progeny. The sage informed them that they were not destined to beget children (*santāna*) and instructed them to write books which are included in the seven kinds of *santāna*.

In the city of Mangalānilaya* there ruled a Yādava chief of the name of Sangarāya. He had five sons who were known by the names of Harihararāya, Kamparāya, Bukkanāya, Mūlapparāya and Muddapparāya. Of these five, Mūlappa and Bukkanāya displayed considerable valour from the early years of their rule, and Sāyāna and Māyāna assisted them as ministers in the administration of their estate. Harihar and Bukkanāya went to the city of Orugallu where they entered into the service of its king, Pratāparudra. In course of time the Asvapati Sultan, who was the king of Dehli, having

* The locality of this town is not known. Perhaps, it is identical with Mangalur (the old name of Madugiri), in the Guntur District.

GOVERNMENT OF HYDERABAD
STAMP

invaded Telingāna, Pratāparudra, the ruler of Ekashia, was defeated in battle. Harihara and Bukka, who were the superintendents of his treasury, were carried away as prisoners to the Sultān's camp. All the sentries that were guarding the camp fled in panic one evening owing to the outburst of a thunder-storm. Nevertheless, Harihara and Bukka sat in obedience to the orders within the prison. The Sultān saw them and, being convinced of their uprightness, took them into his service and retained them at the court.

At that time, the Nava Ballālas, having gathered strength, rebelled against the Sultān in Karnātaka. The Sultān despatched Harihara and Bukka to Karnātaka at the head of a large army to subdue the rebels; but being defeated in battle by the Ballālas, the brothers, who were exhausted, took rest at the foot of a tree. Harihara fell into a deep sleep. During the sleep, Rēvana Siddha, appeared to him in a dream, gave him a linga of Candramauliśvara and said, "You will have an interview with the *yōgi*, Vidyāranya, the benefactor of the world. By the grace of the sage, you will obtain sovereignty." Having said this, Rēvana Siddha vanished, and Harihara woke up from sleep and described the dream to his brother who was very much pleased at what he heard.

The army which was defeated by the Ballālas, rallied round the brothers suddenly by the grace of Vidyāranya. Thereupon, they marched once again to the battle ground against the Ballālas and won a victory over them. The Sultān who was pleased with the victory, entrusted Karnātaka to the brothers whom he appointed as the governors of the country. Śringiri Bhaṭṭa, who was living with Vidyāranya requested him to re-establish the throne of the Narapatis which lay buried in an ant-hill at the time. Attempts were also made at the same time to found the city of Vijayanagara. Meanwhile, the ministers, Śāyana and Māyana, having come to the place, Vidyāranya performed the *abhiṣeka* of Harihara and Bukka, seating them upon the throne of the Narapatis which

was found near the Matanga Hill. The city of Vijayanagara was built; and all the country which acknowledged the sway of the Ballālas was subjugated. The brothers went ahunting to Ānegondi by the side of which flows the river Tungabhadrā, where they saw hares pursuing their hounds. Vidyāranya, who believed that the place engendered heroism, resolved to build a city thereon, laid the foundations of Vijayanagara on Sunday, Vaiśākha śu 7 Makha, of the year Dhātu, corresponding to S. S. 1258. By the command of Bhāratikṛṣṇatīrtha, Jakkaṇācārya built the temple of Vidyāsāṅkara in S. S. 1263. (A.D. 1341). Vidyāranya Śrīpāda devised the same *yantra* for Śrīngēri as well as Vijayanagara. Before the coronation of Harihara Mahārāja, Vidyāranya seated himself upon the throne, and received from him with libations of water a gift of a lakh and a quarter territory both above and below the Ghats in the kingdom of Karnātaka, which he had obtained (from the Sultān), for the maintenance of the Matha, and the choultry at Śrīngēri as well as the *agrahāra* and the Paramahamsa choultry. Seating Harihara on the throne, Vidyāranya next performed his *patraṇī*. He invested him with the insignia of royalty and entrusted to him the pearl crown and the pearl throne. The Rāya then seated Vidyāranya Śrīpāda in the pearl chamber of audience, and having shown much reverential regard to him, he said that the Śrīpāda should continue to enjoy his titles and privileges as before. He presented to him a pearl tiara, a pearl settle and golden slippers. Vidyāranya was pleased by the affection of his royal disciple; and he caused a shower of gold to fall for 3½ *ghādis* in the city of Vijayanagara by the virtue of the *ghāṭikā siddhi* which he had obtained from the sage Vyasa. All the gold that fell within the houses belonged to their owners; and the remainder was collected and deposited in the royal treasury. Vidyāranya bestowed upon the Rāya the titles of Śrimadīḍābhīrāja, Paramēśvara, Aprutimapratāpa and Kāra Narapati, and presented to him the seal ring on which the legend 'Śrī. Vīrāpāka' was engraved. The Rāya

of Vidyāśaṅkara, Śāradā and Candramaulīśvara and the maintenance of charity in the feeding houses at Śṛṅgēri. The temple of Vidyāśaṅkara was built in Ś. S. 1263 Vikrama (A.D. 1340-41). The temples of Śṛṅgēri, Bēlūru, and Halebīdu were constructed by the architect Jakkanācārya and his son.

"Kings who are known by the names of ha, bu, ha, vi, bu, de, rā, vi, de, vi, mā, rā, and vi will rule in the country of Karnāṭa."

After the rule of thirteen kings, as mentioned above, the dynasty of the Rāyas continued until time of Kṛṣṇarāya. Aliya Śrī Rangarāya ruled also for some time.

Mac. MSS. 18-13-18—f. 16 (b)—21.

14. VIDYĀRĀNYA KĀLAJĀNĀNA.

The determination of the age of the kings of the royal family (has been) given out by Yōgi Vidyārānya, the pupil of Vidyāśaṅkara.

There were two brothers, heroic and celebrated, both *pratīhāras* of the treasury in the service of king Vīra Rudra; when Vīra Rudra was attacked and captured by the Yavanas (Muhammadans), they came out of the 'City of Stone' (Warangal), without any one to help them, and took up service under Rāmanātha in guarding his treasury; then the warriors of the Great Blind Lord (Mahāndhēśvara = Muhammad bin Tughlaq?) came and killed Rāmanātha after defeating him in battle, and carried off to their own city the two celebrated brothers, Harihara (the elder) and Bukka (the younger), who were endowed with the marks of heroes. When during their captivity, there was once a thunder-storm at night, (the jail guards deserted their posts) and the Sultān was asleep; he got up* and came out and found the two prisoners standing (inside) far from the gateway and asked them why they were standing there; then the wise Sultān decided that they were

* The words within brackets are supplied from another text as they are necessary to elucidate the obscure original.

very truthful, and he released them after presenting to them the country of Karnāṭa.

In obedience to his (the Sultān's) commands, the two heroes soon reached the river Kṛṣṇavēṇī, crossed it on a boat, and went to war with king Ballāla and sustained defeat.

Then they reached the foot of a tree in the midst of a forest in a tired condition, and one of them, Harihara, fell asleep with his head on the lap of his brother.

He then dreamt a dream that a *Yōgi* and *Siddha* by name Rēvana brought and handed over to him, the great king, a fine crystal *linga* of Candramauli ; he also said : ' From this moment permanent success will attend you and you will soon be master of a throne and also meet Vidyāranya ' and having said this he disappeared immediately.

Waking up from his dream, he (the king) told everything to his brother and the two brothers were very delighted. They then re-formed their scattered forces which had joined them by then, and afterwards met the sage Vidyāranya and praised him ; he gave them his blessings. They took leave of him, went again to king Ballāla, overthrew him (in battle) and then the two heroes ruled the kingdom in their might.

They discovered the throne (*simhapīṭha*) abandoned on the field of battle, and having taken possession of it they came and settled in the city called Hastikōṇa on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

After a time they once started out on a hunt, crossed the Tungabhadra river, and in the forest on the southern bank they saw a hare that was tired ; then their servants released a pack of hounds, and themselves ran after them to capture the hare ; but the hounds turned back (in fear) and the hare escaped ; considering this a mystery, the hunter-servants informed it to the two kings, who in their turn informed it to the holy and learned teacher, the sage Vidyāranya. The object of the priest of Veda Vidyāranya

speech, the *Yōgi* went to the spot along with them, and after inspecting it, he began to build there a capital city for the kings and their successors in their own line and others.

In the year Dhātri on the seventh day of the bright fortnight in the solar month of Vaiśākha, in the Śaka year indicated by *dik* (8), *bāñā* (5), *dvi* (2), *candra* (1), (i.e. 1258), was the beautiful city designed in the shape of a man.

The city had nine gates, with other sub-gates, and was fine. In that city (ruled) thirteen kings in succession. These thirteen monarchs (were) devotees of Virūpākṣa, thanks to the wise pupil of Vidyāranya-muni, Kriyāśakti by name, endowed with great powers of blessing (his pupils); these kings (with names) signified by the letters ha, bu, ha, vi, bu, de, rā, vi, de, vi, mā, rā and vi, virtuous in conduct, full of mercy, will rule the earth in virtue and attain spotless fame. When the ninth king is gone, there will be much confusion in the realm, and the kingdom will be ruled thereafter only by three (kings). Then the city will be ruled only with difficulty by kings, and the last of the line, much troubled by enemies, will take flight to another country after crossing the river, and will doubtless meet his death there—such being the inevitable course of fate. The line will end at the end of one hundred and fifty years.

Mac. MSS. 23-4-1, pp. 17, 25-3, 79-82

15. KĀLAJÑĀNA OF SIVAYYA.

1. Thirteen kings (with names beginning) ha, bu, ha, vi, bu, de etc. Narasimha, the lion among kings; his servant called Narasa;
2. His (Narasa's) son Narasimha; likewise Kṛṣṇaśāra and Aeyuta: after them Timmarāja, Rāmarāja and Sadāśiva;
3. Timmarāja and then his son called Sriranga. Thus (there were) twenty three kings in the Karnāṭa kingdom.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.

From the history of Harihararāya to that of Rāmadēva rāya; Vira-Bhōja is said to reign afterwards. So, there are twelve *rāyapratnas* (reigns) for this. Harihararāya ruled at Ānegondi for seven years from the Vaiśākha śu 2 of the year Dhātu corresponding to the Śaka year 1258; and having built (the city of) Vijayanagara in the Vaiśākha of the year Svabhānu, he reigned there for 7 years, in all 14 years. His younger brother Bukka ascended the throne and ruled for 29 years and 8 months. The rule of Harihar II who came to the throne afterwards lasted for 22 years. Vijaya Bukkarāya ruled for 18 years. Then ruled Palle Buttarāya for 21 years. Rājāsēkhara ruled for 6 months; Vijaya ruled next for 10 months. Praudadēvarāya ruled afterwards for 21 years. Then ruled Virarāya for 4 years. Mallikārjuna ruled next for 6 years. Rāmacandrāya ruled for 1 year. Virupakṣarāya ruled for 2 years. The thirteen reigns lasted for 155 years.

Then (came) the reigns of the Kṣatriyas who ruled independently. The years of Śāluva Narasingharāya's reign are 5. The years for which Narasā Nāyaka ruled in the name of the son of Narasimharāya are 13. Vira-Narasimharāya, son of Narasā Nāyaka, having put Tammarāya to death, ruled for 5 years beginning with (the year) Raktākṣi. The years of the rule of Kṛṣṇarāya, the second son of Narasārāya, beginning with the month of Vaiśākha of the year Śukla, will be 21. The years for which Aeyutarāya ruled, beginning with the year Vikrī, were 12. From the month of Āśvija of the year Śubhakṛt, Salakarāju Timmarāju, having caused the death of Aeyutarāya's son, ruled for eight months. From the month of Jyestha of the year Śubhakṛt, the years for which Sādāśivarāya ruled in the name of Sādāśivarāya were 22. With the end of the rule of Sādāśivarāya (the city of) Vijayanagara came to an end. There were six years of confusion (that followed) were 6.

After this, the period of rule of Tirumalarāya, who was born at Penugonda, was 11 months. Then the years for

which Śrī Rangarāya, the son of Tirumalarāya, ruled, beginning with Vaiśākha ba 15 of the year Āngirasa, were 14. Then, from Māgha su 11 of the year Pārthiva, the reign of Venkatapatiṛāya lasted for 28 years, 7 months and 15 days. The members of the Lunar dynasty were not crowned thenceforward. Those that ruled without crown afterwards : Cikkadēvarāya (ruled for) 4 months. The rule of Rāmarāya, known also as Rāmadēvarāya, lasted for 15 years 5 months and 15 days. Then (there was) one year of confusion ; after that year, I will tell you about the strange events that will happen in the middle of the year Bahudhānya.

All the forts will fall into the hands of the Turakas; all the powerful feudatories of to-day will be sheep paying tribute to the Turakas. People will sing about the history of Vira Bhōja Vasantarāya.

Virappayya's Kālajñāna; Mati Mi. 12-19-2-15.

17. CHRONOLOGY.

Vidyānagara became famous as the kingdom of the Rāyas. The lineage of the Rāyas who ruled on the Jewelled-throne :

“ The thirteen kings, the initial letters of whose names are, ha, bu, hā, vi, bu, de, rā, vi, de, vi, mā, rā, vi, are the masters of the Jewelled-throne.* They ruled the earth for two hundred and thirty-two years.

* This is a quotation from *Vidyārayya Kālajñāna*; but the portion dealing with the duration of the reigns of these kings differs from the original. In the foot-note to this passage in the *Keļadīnṛpa Vijaya*, the following explanation is given.

“ The list of kings that ruled on the Jewelled-throne of Vidyānagara, according to the meaning of the symbols mentioned in the verse above. Hail Prosperity! From the victorious and prosperous Śalivāhana Śaka year.....corresponding to thedayof the year.....

The years of	Hariharāraṇa
”	Bukkarāya
”	Hariharāraṇa
”	Virūpikāraṇa
”	Bukkarāya

Praudha ruled for 12 years; Vira Narasimha, 12 years. Then Saluva Narasimha, 12 years; Acyuta, 3 years; Kṛṣṇa, 43 years; Sadāśiva, 2 years; and Rāmarāya, 24 years. These seven kings were the lords of the Jewelled-throne.*

While this Rāmarāya was ruling the kingdom, as the kings of Vijāpura, Bhāgānagara, and Āmadānagara, having joined together, killed him treacherously in the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year Raktākṣi corresponding to S. S. 1487, the city of Vijayanagara fell into ruins.

A brief account of the kings who ruled subsequently: After this Rāmarāya, Venkātāpāti with a small army ruled over a limited extent of territory for 3 years; Śrī Rangarāya ruled for 5 years; then unable to keep their position there (Vidyānagari), Venkātāpatirāya and Śrī Rangarāya, the sons of Rāmarāya, retired to Penugonda, where Śrī Rangarāya, ruled for five years and Venkātāpatirāya for 7 years, Rāma-devarāya ruled for 6 years, Muddu-Venkātāpatirāya, 5 years, Śrī Rangarāya for 27 years. This branch ends here.†

Those that ruled from Ānegondi; the kinsman of Rāmarāya who was the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāya, the sons of Mari-Timmarāya; Rāyalayyarāya and his sons Pēddā-Venkātāpatirāya, and Cikka-Venkātāpatirāya their

The years of Dēvarāya	.....
" Rāmarāya	.....
" Virūpākṣarāya	.....
" Dēvarāya	.....
" Viṭṭhalarāya	.....
" Mallikārjunarāya	.....
" Rāmarāya	.....
" Virūpākṣarāya	.....

After the rule of 13 kings since the time of Harihararāya three Kurubas ruled for..... years. Next the Tuluva Kings ruled for..... years. Three Cōla kings (?) ruled for..... years. The total number of years of the rule of the kings of the three dynasties (i.).

It is obvious that the author of this explanation did not correctly understand the meaning of the symbols. See *Introduction* for the correct explanation.

The order of succession, and the number of years assigned to each king are utterly

sons Pedda Venkaṭapatirāya Cikka-Venkaṭapatirāya. His son(?) Rāmapparāya*.

This is a description of the lineage of Harihara and Bukka.
Keḍadīnīpā Vijaya—Canto 1, pp. 16-18.

18 (a). THE KINGS WHO RULED OVER THE KURNOOL DISTRICT.

Pratāparudrarāju, Harihararāju, Cōlarāju, Anavēmarāju, Praudhadēvarāju, Kapilēvararāju, Nṛsimharāju, Puruṣottamārāju, Kṛṣṇadēvarāju, Vira Nṛsimharāju, Gajapatirāju, Acyutarāju, Sadāśivarāju, Rāmarāju, Mukundarāju, Kumārarāju, Timmarāju, Śrīrangarāju, Venkaṭadēvarāju and Kāmarāju.

From a fragmentary kavile in the possession of the Karanam Gaṅgārāju of Gōrakallu; L. R. 55, p. 240.

18 (b). CHRONOLOGY OF THE TULUVA KINGS.

In the city of Vijayanagara founded by the great sage Vidyāranya, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the son of Narasadēvarāya, having crowned himself, ruled for 22 years. Then Acyutarāya who made himself master of the city ruled for twelve years; Salakarāju Timmarāju crowned himself, and ruled for eleven months, i.e., nearly one year. The total number of years is 35. Then Rāmarāja, Tirumalarāja and Venkaṭadrīrāja, ruled (the empire) on behalf of Sadāśiva.

Ibid, pp. 240-1.

19 (a). CHRONOLOGY OF THE TULUVA AND THE EARLY ĀRAVĪDU KINGS.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya Mahārāya having been crowned on the Śrī Jayanti day in the bright half of the month of Āvāñi of the year Śukla corresponding to the Śaka year 1432, came to the city of Vijayanagara.....Having become the supreme monarch (the master of a single umbrella), he ruled for 21 years from the year Śukla to the month of Kārtikai of the year Virōdhi. The details of [5] kings who ruled for [15]

* There is evidence to show that a branch of the Āravīdu dynasty ruled at Anegundi but the list given above is wrong and incomplete.

years from the year Vikṛti to the year Pārthiva (are as follows):—

The years of Acyutarāya's rule	... 12
The months of Salike Timmarāja's rule.	months 8
The years when Rāmarāja ruled on behalf of Sadāśivarāya.	22
As Rāmarāja was defeated and slain by the five Pādushās the years of anarchy (that followed).	5
The year of the rule of Tirumalarāya who crowned himself at Penugonda.	1
The years of the rule of Śrī Rangarāya.	... 14

While Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Vira Venkatapatiḍēvarāya having been crowned was ruling.....the keepers of the revenue records (*āṭhavāṇam*) on being summoned in the current year Parābhava corresponding to Śaka year 1526 expired and commanded to produce the old accounts pertaining to the lands formerly given to the seventy-seven *pālegars*, brought the old accounts and read before Venkatapatiṛāya thus:

Vijayanagara Sāmratyam—Ms. 19-1-59; *Bhāratī* VI, pp. 621-22.

19 (b).

The first Rāja was of Kurumba caste named Bokka Rāi and his son was Harihara Rāi. It was Rāja Dēva Rāi who conquered the kingdoms of the Kings of Kērala and other Kings. After this we hear of the *Dhavalai* (dalavāy?) as if the power of Rāi declined for a time, and yet after this we hear the names of Mallikārjuna Rāi, Virūpākṣi Rāi, Sadāśiva Māhā Rāi and Immadi Timma Rāi; then Narasimha Rāyar of Tulu land ascended the throne and conquered several provinces and extended the kingdom and assumed the title of Rāja Dēva Rāya Rāi Māhā Rāi. His eldest son, Vira Narasimha Rāi, ruled from A.D. 1487 to 1508* and made a treaty with the *Khanda*. But his younger brother, Kṛṣṇa Rāi, with the

* This period includes the reigns of Śiluva Narasimha, Immadi Narasimha, and Vira Narasimha. The date A.D. 1487 probably represents the year of Salava Narasimha's accession to the imperial throne.

help of the minister Appāji dethroned him in 1508 and ruled till 1531, conquered many kings and disbanded all Mussalman regiments in those territories and presented the 'sixteen gifts' to temples with stone engravements and pleased all his Christian subjects.

Kēraḷa Paṭama, p. 75.

20. ATAKALAGUNDA INSCRIPTION.

SUMMARY.

* In Š.S. 1261 Pramādi Bhādrapada ba 10 Wednesday, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the lord of the eastern and the western oceans, Hariharāya was ruling the earth with Gutti as his *nelevīdu*. His subordinate, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sujani Miseyaragaṇḍa Vira Śrī Mācappa Vodēru of the treasury was ruling Sindavādi one thousand with Ādavāni as his capital. His subordinate Kāma Nāyaka, the son of Sambajja Gauda of Kāmcadige family, a devotee of the god Mallikārjuna of Śrīsaila, was ruling at Atakalagunda. Kāma Nāyaka made a grant of land to the god Mūlasthāna Mallinātha of Atakalagunda on Bhādrapada śu 15 at the time of the lunar eclipse, *grastōdaya* in the presence of Brahmans assembled at Daxibalada Matha at the Pāṭālagamga.

L. R. 23, pp. 52-53.

21. AKUMALLA INSCRIPTION.

SUMMARY.

1. Salutation to Viṣṇu.
2. Praise of Yaḍu.
3. Sangama came in his family.
4. Praise of his rule.
5. His son was Harihara.
6. Praise of his valour.
7. Titles of Harihara followed by the statement that he was ruling with great splendour. His intimate friend was Mallinātha, son of Śāvana and Sōmanāyikā and grandson (son's son) of Kēsaya Nāyaka.

8-10. Praise of Mallinātha's heroism.

11. His titles such as Rāhuttarāya, Karna of the Age Kali, the Malla of Nadakōṭa.

12. Praise of his rule.

13. He had both Vikrama (Valour) and Śringāra (Love).

14. The goddess of valour sported with him after a long period of separation from suitable mates.

15. Praise of Mallinātha's fame, beauty and liberality.

16. The same subject continued.

17. Praise of his valour.

18. Mallinātha lived in Owk and ruled his fief held by his friend Harihara. He founded the new village of Sōmal pura, called after his mother, after changing its old name Akupādu in the year Vikrama, S. 1262, on the fifth day of the dark half of Pusya, being Thursday and the occasion of Maka Śankrānti; the new village was given to 64 Brahmans learned in the Vēda.

19. Boundaries of the village given in Kanarese. Usual imprecations follow at the end.

Mac. MSS. 15-5-33, pp. 307.

22. HARIHARA I, AND 'ALA-UD-DIN BAHMAN SHĀH I

THE MARCH OF MUBĀRK KHĀN INTO THE BOUNDARIES (OF THE KINGDOM) OF HARIYAP AND OBTAINING OF VICTORY.

One day the king commanded that his officers should make an attack upon the boundary (of the kingdom) of Hariyap. Mubārk Khān who was very rich and powerful was in the army. That successful chief Qutb Malik was made the chief of the army by the king. The plundering army marched (towards the country) sometimes walking and at others cantering. From a distance, they espied a fort which was called Kharachur by the people. When they surrounded the fort, the soldiers drew their long swords and made

attack which threw the inhabitants into a state of trembling. On that day, they fought until the evening and captured every entrenchment during the night. At night, after a parley, the governor of the fort came down from the citadel, desiring safety; and having tendered his submission, gave horses and wealth (to the victors). The soldiers having rested in that fort for some time returned in triumph to Sagar to the king raising the dust to the summit of atmosphere. They presented the booty together with the commandant of the fort of Karaichür to the king, who being greatly pleased with the success of the enterprise rewarded them in a suitable manner.

Izāmī: Furūḥ-us-Salāṭīn, pp. 551-2.

* * * *

23. 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN BAHMAN SHĀH I AND KHAIPRAS.

THE STARTING OF THE KING FROM SAGAR TO MANDHOL; AND THE COLLECTION OF TRIBUTE FROM KHAIPRAS AND OTHER ENEMIES.

The next day, when this blie dome gave out from its mouth the disc of gold (the sun), the king of kings marched from the city of Sagar, the dust gradually going up to the sky. He marched the soldiers quickly to Kemba and galloped his horse for winning victory. When Khaipras heard of this news, he jumped like a bird in the cage. He was afraid that he might be besieged for the second time and he paid money and saved his fort from destruction. He sent (to the king) messengers with horses and wealth, and saved his head from ruin. He wrote like a helpless man a letter in which he swore (loyalty) upon idols and temples (and said):—

“I am the slave of the slaves of the king; and I am acquainted with his victorious sword. As I have committed much sin already, I have not come to kiss the royal feet. I am afraid that the anger of the devil-binding king will cast me into the fire like the seeds of henna. If the king forgives all my faults, I am sending to him the tribute of two years. If the fear of my mind is despelled by the favour of the king, then I will kiss his feet.”

When the king saw in that letter, which was brought (to him), the manner of excuse with flattery and humility, he said to himself, "we should not harass that humble man. Why should the lion which hunts elephants contemplate fighting with foxes? Whenever I want to hunt, the troops which surround my country (are ready to join me)." Then the king accepted the tribute from him and compelled him to purchase (peace). He led the troops towards (the country of) Nārāyan, and reached Mālkōta on the second day.

Isāmī: Futūh-us-Salāfin, pp. 552-3.

** * * *

24 (a). HARIHARA I AND VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION.

SUMMARY.

* In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and fifty eight, corresponding to the cyclic year Īśvara, King Harihara granted, in the presence of God Virūpākṣa, on the holy day of Śivarātri, at the request of Cikka Vodaya, *Karanikas* to Brahmans in all the places where they were dwelling.

From the Ancient Records of Candesvarinandavaram; Mac. MSS, 15-3-18.

24 (b)

SUMMARY.

While Harihararāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, Cikkā Vedyā secured the office of the Karanika for the Brahmins. As he caused also a canal to be dug from the Pinākinī which passed through the fields of Bondiladinne and Sugumanci, it is said that such *nirarāmba* crops as rice, sugarcane etc., used to grow in abundance.

Kaifiyat of Tällaproddutur: L. R. 35, pp. 122-123.

24 (c)

SUMMARY.

At the request of Cikka Vodaya, Harihararāya granted
to the Bhaktas of Nandavaram, in the temple of the god

* S.S. 1256 corresponds to Dhātri and not Iṣvara.

Virūpākṣa at Vijayanagara, the village of Cākirāju-Vēmula as an *agrahāra* on S. S. 1255 Īśvara, Mārgasira śu 6 (Kapila-saṣṭhi) *

The ancient records of Cauḍēvarī Nandavaram; Mac. MSS. 15-3-18.

24 (d).

Hail prosperity ! In the victorious year 1259 of the Śālivāhana Śaka corresponding to the year Īśvara, Māgha ba 30,† Arirāyagaṇḍa, Arirāyamardana, the prosperous Mahārājādhīrāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Śrī Viraprātāpa Hariharadēva Mahārāya, who has the prosperous Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bukkarāya as the prop of his throne, his *Sarvapradhāna* Cikka Vodaya having favoured the request, granted to Brahmans, on this holy day, the hereditary Karanika right along with the gift-deeds. He also granted the office of the Reddi in some villages.

An extract from the gift-deed given by Harihara to Vundavēlu Śivā Reddi of Bōgalakatṭa, a hamlet of Malamidikambhāladinne in the Cuddapah District; L. R. 37, p. 291.

24 (e). A LEASE DEED.

Hail prosperity ! In the victorious year 1262 of the Śālivāhana Śaka, corresponding to the year Vikrama, Jyēshṭha śu 10, Arirāyagaṇḍa, Arirāyamardana, the prosperous Mahārājādhīrāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Virapratāpa Harihararāya, who has the prosperous Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bukkarāya as the prop of his throne, granted a lease deed (*kaulu-nirūpa*) to Vundavēlu Śivā Reddi of Nadigadda Sima :—

On our order that you should cut the forest at the edge of Gūbagundam situated to the west of Mailēdēvara, and the east of Yādaki in the Gunta Sima, you requested that we should grant you a lease-deed (*kaulu-nirūpam*). In accordance with your wishes, we grant you the following lease (*kaulu*).

* The Śaka and cyclic years do not tally.

† Feb. 27, 1338.

We charge at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ *Ghaṭṭi addaga* on one *tūm* of land (per annum) for seven years, on the extent of land which you may plough, having destroyed as much forest as you like both above and below the hill. After the expiry of (this) lease, we shall charge at the rate of 3 *rūkas* per field of one *tūm* for all the fields in which you sow the seeds. Having measured the land included within the four boundaries of the village and fixed its *mēras*, we confer upon you the office of the Reddi. We also appoint a Brahman called Māmudūr Peddanna as the hereditary *Karaṇika*, for submitting to us the *gudikattu* accounts, and keeping the accounts of the village which you are founding. When he, having entered the fields*, repairs to our presence, with the *gudikattu* register, we shall grant you and the *Karaṇam* as well as the *Āyagārs* of the other castes *mānyas*, and fix the income (*āyam*). Have faith in our *kaul*, and securing the *ravats* (for the cultivation of the fields), live in happiness.

Ibid, p. 293.

24 (f).

According to the commands of Hariharadēvarāya, Vundavelli Sīva Reddi of Nadigadda Sīma, having celebrated a festival (*jātra*) in honour of the village deity, founded a village to the west of Mailedēvara, on the ruined site of Pōlinēnipalle which was deserted long ago. But the (new) village was ruined by an accident within a year of its foundation. Again, according to the order of His Majesty (Sīva Reddi began to excavate) a tank at his own expense, at Waterless-Nittūru (which is situated) to the east of Yādaki, west of Mailedēvara, and south of Grubagundam on Saturday Vaisākha su [10?] of the year *Vikramā* corresponding to S.S. 1262, and completed on Māgha su 5 of the year *Visu* corresponding to S.S. 1263 † (Jan. 12

* The original has 'māra polam sāgīni'. The sense of the expression is not clear; the known meaning of 'māra' is applied in this context; but 'māra' in such expressions as 'māra krama' and 'māra pātakudu' means retail trade and retail trade respectively. 'māra polam sāgīni' may be taken to mean registering the small debts.

† Though the excavation of the tank is said to have been completed on the latter date, the connection of the former with the excavation work is not stated. We have taken it as the date of commencement.

A. D. 1342). To prove the truth of this, there is an inscription in the Nāgari script which Vundavēlu Śivā Reddi had caused to be engraved on the sluice on the eastern side of the tank.

Ibid, p. 295.

24 (g).

A description of *mānyas* which His Majesty had granted on Mārgaśira śu 10 of the year Svabhānu corresponding to Śalivāhana Śaka 1265.

* * * *

In the region bounded by Siddhavatṭam in the east of Gutti, Penugonda in the south, Maddikara in the west, and Drōṇācalam in the north,* (King Harihara) appointed a Karanika over a village consisting of four or five hamlets, and a Sthalakaraṇa over (an area) containing 20 to 30 villages having such village Karanikas. (He) also appointed for the same region *nād-gaudas* and *nād-talaiyārs*; and having made appointments in this manner, (he) granted them title deeds which he had caused to be written.

Ibid, pp. 297-298.

24 (h).

SUMMARY.

While Mahārājādhīrāja Harihararāya, being seated on the Diamond-throne, was ruling from Vidyānagara known also as Vijayanagara, Cikka Vodaya submitted on Māgha ba 30, Sivarātri of the year (Vijaya)† corresponding to S. S. 1275, that it would be an act of merit, if the king granted to Brahmans, on that holy occasion, the office of the Karanika in all the villages of his kingdom, which was held at that time by the goldsmiths and the Velamas. At that time, the goldsmith, Limgōju was holding the office of the Karanika in the village of

* The original ms. describing the boundaries is corrupt; and consequently this portion of the translation is only tentative.

† The name of the cyclic year is not mentioned, and some space is left blank in the original. As the cyclic year corresponding to S. S. 1275 is Vijaya, it has been introduced in the translation. Again, the name of the cyclic year in which the lunar eclipse occurred on Vaiśākha śu 15, and when the king bestowed the office of the Karanika on Peda Pēlamati is not mentioned. No lunar eclipse occurred in Vaiśākha of Jaya or the succeeding year. The date on which Cikka Vodaya made the rainfall corresponds to Feb. 23 A.D. 1342.

Vēmulapādu of Awuku-Rēnādu Sima which was under the jurisdiction of the *cāvadi* of Gutti. The king deprived Līmōju of his office, and conferred it upon Peda-Pōlamrāju, son of Adhyakṣam Gaṇapaya, at the time of lunar eclipse on Vaisākha śu 15, (Vijaya ?).

L. R. 56, pp. 139 ff.

25. BUKKA I.

Vijaya-Bukkarāya ruled at Vijayanagara for twenty-eight years from Śālivāhana Śaka 1273 corresponding to Khara to Śālivāhana Śaka 1301 corresponding to Kālayukti.*

The Kaifiyat of Malamidikambhāladinne; L. R. 37, p. 298.

26. BUKKA I AND MĀDHAVA-VIDYĀRANYA.

Prosperity to Śrī Bukka, lord of the earth, who has taken upon himself the duty of uplifting the *Smārta-dharma*; has his *viveka* fixed in truth; possesses high intellectual powers; is ever bent on seeking the three objects of human life (*dharma, artha* and *kāma*); is expert in the use of four expedients, well-versed in the five branches of human knowledge, renowned in six-fold heredity, moving everywhere in the seven constituent parts of the kingdom, and radiant with the eight parts of kingly duties; possessing nine treasures and shining with the ten characteristics of *dharma*. Mādhava was the family priest and minister of that mighty king; just as Bṛhaspati was the teacher and minister of Indra; Sumati of Nala; Mēdhātithi of Saibya; Dhāumya of Dharmarāja; Gautama of the king Vainya; and Vasīṣṭha of inward vision and spouse of Arundhati, of Rāma of the virtuous mind.

Bukka, the pre-eminent king who knows the essence of all things, being eager to hear good stories, addressed with pleasure his minister, the seat of all learning:—

“We have heard, O! high-minded one! the various Śāstras *Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* from your mouth”.

* * * * *

* A.D. 1351-2 to 1379. Harihara I was alive until A.D. 1356. The overlapping of the reigns may be due to the fact that Bukka I ruled the kingdom jointly for some time with his brother.

Mādhava having heard the pregnant words of Bukka, praised him and replied gladly :

“ Listen with calm understanding to my words that deal with the *puruṣārtha* ; here is my younger brother, Śāyaṇācārya, foremost among the learned men.

“ O ! King ! desirous of learning the *puruṣārthas*, in the *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas*, I have given instruction to him ; and he will tell you the stories.”

Thus having cheered the King, he cast a glance at Śāyaṇācārya ; and Śāyaṇa having bowed down to his brother addressed the king, Bukka.

END :

The king, Bukka, heard the *Purushārta-Sudhānidhi* as related by Mādhava [Śāyaṇa ?]-ārya and felt very much gratified.

He told his illustrious teacher Mādhava : “ O ! best among the learned men ! I feel satisfied with your valuable stories and have learned many that teach the *puruṣārtha*.

“ I think you are adding to the glory of your elder brother Mādhava as Upēndra did to Indra.”

Puruṣārtha Sudhānidhi.

27. BUKKA I AND CIKKA VODAYALU.

Hail prosperity ! On Monday, Śrāvāṇa śu 15 of the year Parīdhāvi corresponding to S. S. 1294 of increasing victory ; while the prosperous Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Arirāya-vibhālita, Prabhurāyarakaganda, Mūrurāyarakaganda, and the Lord of eastern, western, southern and northern (!) oceans, Vīra Bukkarāya, was ruling, his *Sarvapradhāni*, Cikka Vodaya granted to (the god) Pāpavināśēśvara of Eruva, the village of Cengalavidi with libations of water as long as the moon and the sun may last, in order that his rule, as well as that of Bukkarāya, their life, health, wealth, cash, gold, goods, and vehicles may increase.

An inscription in the temple of Pāpavināśēśvara in the village of Eruva, in the Attapalle in the Cuddapah District.

28. BUKKA I AND THE MUSSALMANS.

SUMMARY.

While Bukka I was ruling at Vijayanagara, he collected a large army with the object of leading an expedition against the Mussalmans in S. S. 1286 (A. D. 1364-5).* At that time, Mesā Timmā Nayaka, having gathered together some troops according to the commands of the Rāya at Kummetta, on the bank of the Pinākini in the northern districts, marched to Vijayanagara, where he joined the Rāya. Then they advanced northwards against the army of Delhi. † Timmā Nayaka fought valiantly, and though wounded in the battle, he slew several including the captains of the Delhi army, whose heads he presented to the Rāya. The Rāya had them promptly hoisted on the flag-staffs. He presented to Timmā Nayaka all the jewels that he was then wearing, his own sword and his favourite steed, as well as two fly-whisks.

Having won a victory over the Muhammadans, the Rāya returned to Vijayanagara with all his army. He held a durbar to which he summoned Mesā Timmā Nayaka, and after complimenting him on the display of valour in the battle, asked him how he should be rewarded. Timmā Nayaka submitted that if it pleased His Majesty, he might confer on him the *jāgir* of Kummetta. The Rāya complied with this request, and Timmā Nayaka returned to his place, where he lived for several years.

Kaijyat of the Nadimidoddiपालम् Pālaiyagars; L. R. 39, pp. 1-2.

29. HARIHARA II.

Harihara II ruled for 22 years from S.S. 1302 Siddhārthi to S.S. 1324 Citrabhānu. At the time when he waged war on the

* This war is alluded to by Ferishta, who states that the king of Vijayanagara entered into an alliance with the Rāja of Telengāna and invaded the dominions of the ~~Delhi~~ Sultans during the early years of the reign of Muhammad I. Haig assigns this war to A. D. 1365.

† The mention of Delhi here is due to confusion. By Delhi troops, the army of ~~Delhi~~ Sultans must be understood in this context.

Northern Army, the village was destroyed as a consequence of the outbreak of famine.* Then Kondubhatu, the *purōhit*, migrated to the southern country; Peddanna, the Karaṇam breathed his last; Vundavēlu Śivā Reddi of Nadigadā Sima passed his days in the neighbouring villages; Timmarāju, the son of Peddanna, the Karṇam, reached Vijayanagaram; some of the āyagārs deserted the village, while the others somehow managed to live in the neighbourhood. The number of years during which the village remained in ruins as a result of famine was 21.

The Kaifiyat of Malamīdi-Kambhālādinne, Cuddapah District; L. R. 37, pp. 298-9.

30. VITTHALĀMBĀ, THE QUEEN OF HARIHARA II.

SUMMARY.

S. 1315 Śrīmuka : King Harihara married Vitthalāmbā, the daughter of Kāmadēva, the son of Basavarāja of the Kadamba family and his wife Padmalādēvī.† Queen Vitthalāmbā caused the steps on the way from the Śrīsaila to the Pātālagamgā to be constructed.

Kaifiyat of Kandanavōlu—An Inscription on the Śrīsaila hill, on the way from the shrine to the Pātālagamgā; L. R. 18, p. 404.

31. HARIHARA II AND THE VELAMAS.

RĒCERLA ANAPĀTĀ NĀYADU.

As soon as the Rēvanta among the horsemen (Anapōta) mounts his charger, the minds of mighty kings are perturbed; the Karṇāṭa troops are thrown into confusion by the fierce blows of his sword; the whole of the Telugu kingdom is stricken with panic on hearing the twang of the bow string of this Pārtha in battle; the king of the Oddes (i.e. the Gajapati) is startled by the thrust of the lance of this fearless warrior; O ! glorious Rāya Rāvu Anapōta, the Sultān and the kings (his allies), being unable to bear the impact of your attack, have sustained a disgraceful defeat outside the fort of Sindhūr.

Velagattari Vanisabali; v. 72.

* This famine is also noticed by *Perishta* and other Mussalman historians. (See Briggs' *Perishta* II, p. 349.)

† This disposes of the theory of Fr. Heras that the family of Saṅgamā were descended from the Kadambas.

32. RĀMACANDRA AND HIS ANCESTORS.

Yaradāca, who killed Yimma of Kunṭlūru, is the grandfather of your grandfather; king Singa who slew Macca Gannayē in battle is your grandfather's father; Mādhava who put to death Bhandāra Mummadī is your father's father; Peda Vēdagiri who defeated Gunda Dāṇḍanātha is your father. O Vēdaya Rāmacandra, you pleased the Sultān, Firōz Shāh, near the Bandi Pass, and won a victory over the Kannadis in battle.

Velugōtivāri Vamsāvali: v. 100.

33. PĀNUGALLU INSCRIPTION.

SUMMARY.

1. Salutation to Mother Earth. (omitted)
2. Salutation to Ganapati. (omitted)
3. Praise of Harihara, son of Bukka.
4. Praise of his minister Baica-dāṇḍādhipa.
5. His son Irugapa was made commander-in-chief, (*dāṇḍādhināthēśvara*) by Harihara. Irugapa's great qualities enumerated.
6. Harihara's son Bukka ruled the earth with distinction.
7. The city of Lord Śambhu, Pānugallu, defended by many Turuṣka warriors and stone ramparts was conquered by him on Sunday in the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada (Nabhasya), in the year Iśvara, (which was the Śaka year represented by treasures (9), moon (1), fires (3) and moon (1), (1319).
8. Praise of Anantakṣmāpati, son of Immadī Bukka, and of his heroism in war.
9. King Immadī Bukka, fond of doing original deeds, made a new lotus tank (bed) by pipes and fitted it with many new machines.

South Indian Research, II, pp. 172-3

34-a. BUKKA II AND TELINGĀNA.

SUMMARY.

Salutation to Nārāyaṇa.

Salutation to Mukunda with Indira.

3. Salutation to Ardhanārīśvara.
4. Praise of Vāgbhāta.
5. Praise of Mercury.
6. Origin of Brahmā from Mukunda.
7. Brahmā creates nine Prajāpatis.
8. Among them was Atri.
9. He married Anasūyā who gave birth to the Moon.
10. His son was Budha ; his son Purūravas who espoused Urvaśi.
11. Praise of the rule of Purūravas.
12. Āyus was his son.
13. His son was Nahuṣa, who performed 100 *aśvamedhas*.
14. He occupied Indra's throne.
15. His son was Yayāti.
16. He married two wives and gave birth to Yadu, Puru and three other sons.
17. Yadu had eight sons.
18. Then Viśvajaya.
19. Vasudēva born in the line.
20. His good qualities.
21. He married Kāṁsa's sister, and Viṣṇu was born of them for the protection of the world.
22. Kṛṣṇa's exploits.
- 23-24. In his family was born King Sangama in whom all good qualities sought to unite as they had lost their fondness for others ; his son, who resembled Skanda, (the son) of Iśvara, was king Bukka, emperor of the world, famed in all quarters, sole hero of the world ; greatly pleased with the lotuses of whose feet, shine the bees, viz., the (subordinate) kings.
25. The extremities of the quarters form the sporting ground of (his) fame, and the capital of the gods, that of his enemies ; the earth sported with his arm and Lakṣmi with his eye.

26. That king *Bukka* had for his son King *Harihara*, the friend of wise (men), flourishing in prosperity and merciful (in disposition).
27. Anointed by great ministers, *Harihara* sat upon the *bhadrāsana* (throne of fortune), proclaiming as it were his protectorship of the eight quarters by being mirrored in eight pillars, and resembling the heavenly elephant by the gurgling waters poured from the *kalaśas*, the *Kailāsa* mountain by his weighty qualities (clouds), the god of love by waters and golden lotuses (?) and *Skanda* by the waters of the *Ganges*.
28. With the eight quarters filled with his great fame, always devoted to the *nīti* of *Manu*, the glorious king *Harihara*, *Indra* among rulers of men, is ever victorious.
29. He shone while *Kali* fled in fear as the waters of his *dānās* (gifts) made the earth cool after its being heated by the unjust taxes and qualities of kings due to the power of *Kali*.
30. To him the Eastern sea tendered elephants with gold, the Southern ocean moon-like pearls, and the Western sea gave a tribute of horses.
31. His courtyard converted into a mire by the flowing rut of elephants and marked by (the hoofs of horses) is converted into a pavement of precious stones by the (subject) kings with particles of jewels dropping from their coronets jostling (against one another).
32. The dark reflection of his parasol was the only stain on the crowns of the noble kings who were the abodes of valour and whose prosperity excelled that of *Kubēra* and *Indra*.
33. The lucky *Kṣatriya* princesses got king *Harihara* for their beloved partner, like the rivers the ocean, the lightning the cloud, the *Vedas* *Viṣṇu*, and the stars the moon.
34. The object of his attachment was *Melāmbikā* who shone like *Lakṣmi* and the Earth-Goddess by her birth.

conduct, virtue, splendour and tact, *dāna* (charitable gifts) and beauty.

35. Deep in mutual attachment like a pair of ruddy geese they flourished in the pursuit of many pleasures together like Indrāṇī and Indra, Rati and Kāma, Umā and Mahēśa, and Rōhiṇī and the Moon.
36. Finding his beloved particularly attractive and very closely drawn to him mentally, the king, who was good at reading (the meaning of) signs, began to wonder when she would be quick with child.
37. Then he himself saw in a dream the lotus-eyed (Viṣṇu) entering his own lotus-like face and the king awoke with brightness in his face and still seeing (Viṣṇu) shining in his mind.
38. Afterwards the queen, whose gait was stately, bore in her womb a portion of the discus-armed (Viṣṇu), and she shone like the bright digit of the moon and the eastern quarter.
39. The slender lotus-eyed lady pleased the lord of the oceans (the king) by attaining a fresh loveliness (in which the three *rēkhas* stood out clearly in the region of her waist) in her new condition.
40. At an auspicious hour when five planets were in the ascendant, the queen gave birth to a son, like Śacī (giving birth) to Jayanata, Vinatā to Garuḍa, Samjñā to Manu, and intelligence to *prabōdha* (understanding).
41. Then Kali fled, sin disappeared, passion subsided, enemy houses broke; the earth had her desire fulfilled, Śrī became resplendent and noble Brahmans rejoiced greatly.
42. The wise king bestowed the name *Bukkarāja* on his excellent son who was the storehouse of intelligence, had the good fortune of Budha, was the abode of enjoyment and was beaming with lustre.

43. Like the calf growing into a bull, the tender elephant into a tusker, and the whelp into a lion, so also the prince, who rivalled Indra in fame, attained maturity like the young moon gaining the fulness of beauty.
44. On the prosperous and splendid son *Bukkarāja* the king laid the burden of (governing) the earth, and devoted himself to charity, and the pleasures of the chase and of women.
45. (Possibly designing) to make a new garment for *Sambhu* just to please the moon and the deer (of *Siva*), or to protect the cows (in the land), or to destroy the ornament on the standard of the enemy (the *Cōla*), he killed the tigers in the forest along with lions of irresistible might, while he (only) frightened the elephant (without killing it) because its globes were beautiful like the breasts of women.
5. Enjoying the status of the crown prince, *Bukkarāja* ruled the earth with as much power in his charge as his father.
7. With him (*Bukka*) the earth seemed to have *Rāma* (for her ruler), because he shone by killing his enemies (was accompanied by *Satrughna*), was learned in the dance (was followed by *Bharata*), had good qualities and was devoted to *Hari* and *Īvara* (was attended by *Laksmana* and the monkey Lord *Hanumān*), was a foe to villains (*Khara*), and afraid of slander (terror to *Dūṣana*).
8. The nails of his feet being reflected on the coronets of the kings who made obeisance to him caused pleasure by appearing like the coloured sprouts of fame or garlands of pearl.
9. Then the broad-minded son of Lord *Harihara*, firm in his valour, set out to conquer the *Andhra* ruler who was ~~desert~~ on account of his pride and the accession of strength by his alliance with the *Yavanas* (*Muhammadans*).

50-51. The armies of the prince began to move shaking even the unshakable earth with chariots, horses, rutting elephants and infantry, swallowing up the quarters with the clouds of dust (raised by their march), and bringing down the prosperity of enemy (Kings); the forces moved about here and there as if in search of the scattered footsteps of Āndhra women hidden (in the recesses) of mountains and forests.

52. The army with its flags hoisted, swords flourished, and the noises of drums and conches accompanied by a medley of neighbours and trumpetings, quickly and completely surrounded the city of the Āndhra king.

53. This roused the manliness of the Turuṣkas who swiftly mounted their horses and began a deadly fight with their bows, and shook the van of the enemy's forces.

54. Then the battle grew by steps in intensity and swords and arrows were freely employed; and there was much playful talk about heroic deeds bringing pleasure to the rising bosoms of celestial damsels.

55. The battle-field strewn all over with the broken blades of swords looked like a bed made of blue lilies closely spread for the goddess of valour (to lie on).

56. The Turuṣkas being thrown up into the sky by elephants which resembled the peaks of the Mandara mountain, looked like the heavenly Gāngā in their descent, and thus they carried on a novel (kind of) warfare.

57. The blood gushing forth from the neck of the Yavana from which the head had been cut off resembled a tongue of the vital flame awaiting the vital airs released by the blow of the sword.

58. With the fallen heads of the enemies dancing about like balls of ruby.....the goddess of victory (fragment).

59. (Abstract) Kandarpa and Iṣvara's son (Skanda) can alone rival Bukka in his good qualities.

60. Well beloved of women, the king's glances are a terror to his enemies; when he sets out for conquering the northern kings, the Āndhra rulers who have been fleeing fast, praise Agastya for having stopped the Vindhya from growing.

61. Praise of Bukka's valour in the field.

62. Half-verse. Meaning obscure.

63. Bukka's valour is compared to a wreath of smoke that brings tears of joy to the eyes of women in heaven and of sorrow to those of his enemy women.

64. The dust raised by Bukka's army makes bees unhappy, as no place is dust-free and fit for collecting honey.

65. Praise of Bukka's fame.

66. May Bukka and his line praised of poets prosper long.

67. Praise of Bukka's war-elephants.

68. Praise of his blue parasol.

69-70. Praise of Bukka's heroism ; flight of Turuṣkas.

71. The Suratrāṇa eats grass (in token of submission), when Bukka begins a war.

72. The confusion in the Turuṣka army on such occasions.

73. Praise of Bukka's fame.

74. When the army of the Rākṣasas in human form (Turuṣkas) has been shattered by the warriors of king Bukka, even the Āndhra ruler gladly takes upon his head the lotus-like feet (of Bukka), the treasure (that saves him) in distress.

75. Thus did he (Bukka) conquer all the kings of the four quarters beginning with the Āndhra ruler ; accompanied by these (conquered kings) and the heaps of treasure and gems (gathered in war), he (went and) bowed to his parents.

76. He then held a darbar* with his relatives, ministers, Kṣattriyas and wise men; and then great poets praised king Bukka saying that he was a reincarnation of Pr̥thu, Raghu or Paru.

* He occupied the *disarmament*, the seat of justice, of the people.

77-78. Fragments of verses in praise of *Bukka* as *Yuvarāja*.

79. Does *artha* rise out of *dharma*, or *dharma* from *artha*? Do the others (*kāma* and *mōkṣa*) rise from these, or these from them? In this discussion, he (the prince) said that the nature of the body is best (most important) as it is the source of *dharma*.

80. Praise of *Āyurvēda*.

81. *Bukka* commissions *Lakṣmaṇapāṇḍita*, the son of Śrī *Vallabha*, the ornament of *Vatsakula*, to inquire into the essence of *Āyurvēda*.

82. *Lakṣmaṇa*'s humble acceptance of the task; the king was the home of all knowledge, yet by service under him, *Lakṣmaṇa* had also gained some competence.

83. *Bukka* repeats and defines the scope of his commission to *Lakṣmaṇa*.

84. He composed the *Bhiṣagvallabha-tantra*.

Vaidyaratjavallabham; Cat. Skt. MSS. Mysore Oriental MSS. Library,
Nos. 148, 1283, 3832.

34-b. VIJAYA-BHŪPATI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

SUMMARY.

1. Eulogy on *Bhāratītīrtha*.
2. Description of the milk-ocean.
3. Description of the Moon born of the above.
4. The royal race born from the Moon in which Kṛṣṇa also was born as a scion of the Yādavas.
5. In that Yādava vāṁśa was born emperor *Samgama*.
6. Of him were born five kings, for the making of the world, even as the five elements—*Haryapa*, *Kampa*, *Bukka*, *Muddapa* and *Mārapa*.
7. Of these (Bukka).....(there is a gap here in the description of *Bukka*), who, taking the forms of *Mādhavārya* and *Sāyanārya*, commented upon the *Vēdas*.
- 8-10. From this *Bukka* arose, like the Sun from the 'Udayagiri', King *Harihara* who frequently overran the

earth and filled the quarters with the tributes paid to him by vassals ; and made all the great *dānās* of old.

10-12. Of him was born Yuva Bukka who first conquered the east and then the other quarters ; and had himself weighed (with gold).

12. His queen was Tippāmbā.

13. To them was born King Bhūpati.

14-15. He had two wives, Padmā and Mallā.

15-16. He begot on them four sons, Haryapa, Samudra, Bukka (III) and Raghūttama.

16-19. Bhūpatirāya was a warrior and a scholar who vanquished external and internal foes and every day conducted a *Tulāpurusadāna* etc.

20-21. Once, as he was righteously ruling his subjects, he was requested by Brahmans that the subject of *śrauta* must be explained ; whereupon he ordered Caundapācārya to expound the *Adhvāra-tantra*.

22-25. Praise of Caundapācārya of the Vāsiṣṭha-gōtra ; wife Kamāmbā of Bhāradvāja-gōtra ; two younger brothers Ādityadēva and Mañcapa.

26. Caundapa was the minister of Bhūpatirāya, and pupil of a Viṣṇubhāṭṭa.

27-28. Nature of Caundapa's work described.

Prayōgaratnamāla : S. M. L. Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS. No. 2049.

35-a. ŚRIRANGAM AFFAIRS UP TO HARIHARA II.

SUMMARY.

After the disturbances at the "sacred hillock of 'anriyālvan'" in the Akṣaya year i.e. Śāka 1249 (expired), which came to an end on the 17th day of Vaikāsi in the year 'āñtāpi (Śāka 1293), the Muhammadans disappeared completely, and once more Viṣṇu was installed with his consorts at Tirupati, then in the north, the city of Vijayanagara-Ānegondi*

The reading in the text is : Anattiyāndi.

founded by Vidyāraṇya became the centre of a large kingdom. In the reign of Harihararāya, a certain Śrīrangarāya became the abbot (in Śrīrangam). Details of his honours and duties. Vicissitudes of shrines during Muslim invasions before the foundation of Vijayanagara. Gifts to the temple and its relations with Vijayanagara.

Kōyilelugu, pp. 116-25.

35-b. PERIYA-KRŚNARĀYAR-UTTAMA-NAMBI'S SERVICES TO THE TEMPLE OF ŚRĪRANGAM.

After the disturbances in Śrīrangam thus came to an end, Periya Kṛṣṇarāyar Uttama-nambi went several times to the court of Harihararāya, and in the course of fifteen years from Śaka 1304 Rudhirōdgāri to the year Īśvara, he obtained about thirteen gifts (*tiruvidaiyāttam*) with libations of water (*udakadhāra*) from the hands of Harihararāya Mahārāya, Gōppaṇa Udaiyār, Virūppaṇa Udaiyār, Muttaya Daṇḍāyaka, Tammaṇṇa-Udaiyār, Pradhāni Sōmappa Daṇḍāyaka's secretary Anṇar Gōppaṇnar and others. He also renovated the *ānaiyērra-maṇḍapa* which had fallen into disrepair during the war. Anṇappa Udaiyār of Nāgamangalam covered the four pillars of the *amudu-maṇḍapa* with gilded copper-plates, and covered with silver the plank in the centre on which the sacred food (*tiruppōnakam*) is spread. In course of time, Timma Rāhutta, who was in the service of Sāluva Gōpālarāja, removed this silver and made a *kopperai* (wide-mouthed vessel) therewith, made a *makara-tōrana* for the sacred gate of Tiruvanukkan and gilded the gate, and likewise covered its doors with gilded plates, and also encased in gilded plates the *pitha* (pedestal) of the Śelvar of the Sacred Arangam (*tiruvarangacelvar*). The sacred cot (*pallikkattil*) of ivory placed in the sacred *maṇḍapa* of Alagiya-Maṇavāla was made by Harihararāya as his gift. Periya Kṛṣṇarāyar Uttama-nambi did the holy duties of *Vedācāryabhaṭṭa* for four years from Śaka 1318, Īśvara.

35-c. HOW THE DĒVADĀYAS PASSED INTO THE HANDS
OF THE RĀYA.

Originally when there was one ruler over all the lands of Cēra, Sōla and Pāṇḍya Māṇḍalas, and then when there were three kings ruling over the three māṇḍalas, in fact, till the Śaka year 1249, Akṣaya, the kings did not control the *dēvadāya* and *brahmadāya* lands, but left them under the control of the Brahmins and only enquired into complaints received regarding their administration and meted out justice duly. Then the Muhammadans came, laid waste the *dēvadāya* and and the deity had to seek refuge in gardens and other places till he came back to Śrīrangam in Śaka 1293, Parītāpi; then all these māṇḍalas came under the Rāya, who was the Narapati; and the Rāya and his servants, viz., the many commanders of forts made gifts of many villages with libations of water and began to administer the *tiruvidaiyāttam* lands which were *dēvadānas* in the same way as they administered the palace lands (*areymanai-cairmai*) by appointing in Śrīrangam as their own servants a *maniyam* and a *samprati*.

Ibid, pp. 147-8.

36-a. DESCENDANTS OF SŌMIDĒVA.

SUMMARY.

Rāghavadēva was born to him by his wife Kāmaladēvi and to Rāghavadeva and Bācaladēvi was born Pinnabhūpāla who established himself at Ārevīdu and ruled the earth.

Dvipada Bhābhāgavatam—*Mac. Ms. 13-2-19*, p. 285.

36-b. PINNAMA OF ĀREVĪDU.

Pinnama was ruling over the city of Gundānda in the district of Kēkārla which yielded a revenue of one lakh of *crākas*. He married Timmamma, a daughter of Narasarāju of Torakanī family.

Kāntabālīja Vistāraś, *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, pp. 194-5.

37. VIRŪPANNA UDAIYĀR AND ŚRĪRANGAM.

In Śaka 1366 expired,* Raktāksi, Virūpanna Udaiyār built the temple of Sudarsanapperumāl (i.e. a shrine of the discus), and consecrated Yantra-Narasimha.

Kōyilōluugu, p. 132.

* Śaka date is vague.

38. DĒVARĀYA I.

Praudha Dēvarāya* ruled at Vijayanagara from S. 1325 Svabhānu to S. 1346 for 21 years.

Kaifiyat of Malamidikambhāladinne, Cuddapah District, L. R. 37, p. 299.

39. THE REDDI INVASION (i).

SUMMARY.

While Harihara II was reigning at Vijayanagara, Praudha Dēvarāya Vodaya was governing the province of Udayagiri. Cennāreddi, Annāreddi, and Mallāreddi, the lords of Addanki in the east, having entered the district of Pulugulanādu with his army, caused much disturbance, as a consequence of which several villages such as Śingamanēyadipattanam, Battalūru Peda-Bukkapattanam, and Cina-Bukkapattanam were destroyed.

Dēvarāya Vodaya marched from Vijayanagara at the head of an army, and captured the fort of Udayagiri. He despatched a portion of an army to Candragiri, and Cennāreddi and others of Addanki were obliged to evacuate the district and retreat to the east. The people who left their homes owing to the violence caused by the invaders then returned, and began to restore the villages that had been destroyed.

Kaifiyat of Bukkapattanam, L.R. 17, pp. 178-9

40. THE REDDI INVASION (ii).

SUMMARY.

While Pedarāya-Vodayalu (Harihara II) was reigning at Vijayanagara, his son Mahāmandalēśvara Praudha Vodaya (Dēvarāya I) was governing the province of Udayagiri. Owing to the illness of his father, Praudha Vodaya was obliged to pay a visit to Vijayanagara. Taking advantage of his absence, Udayagiri, Cennāreddi, Annāreddi and Mallāreddi sons of Perumallareddi, a younger brother of Vēmāreddi, the lord of Addanki, laid siege to the fort of Rācavīdu and captured it.

*Dēvarāya I was also known as Praudha Dēvarāya; but the regnal years furnished by the Kaifiyat are slightly at variance with those supplied by the inscriptions.

†The writer of the Kaifiyat is wrong in making Annāreddi and Mallāreddi brothers. From the summaries of Mallāreddi's inscriptions given below, it is seen that Anna and Malla were father and son and descendants of Anna (not Cennā), one of the younger brothers of Vēmā, the founder of the Reddi kingdom.

Proceeding southwards they also annexed the districts of Pottapi and Pulugulu.

* * * *

Praudha Dēvarāya, who ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, sent his armies to Udayagiri, whence they marched into the two districts mentioned above, and the three Reddi chiefs were consequently obliged to retire to their country.

Kaifyat of Chittivēli, L. R. 22, pp. 166, 171-2.

41. INSCRIPTIONS OF MALLĀ REDDI (i).

SUMMARY.

During the reign of Anavēmāreddi, Mallāreddi a grandson of Vēmāreddi made a grant of a field of 20 *kuntas* to god Karālēśvaradēva of Lembāka, at the time of lunar eclipse, on Thursday śu 15 of Jyēṣṭha of the year Sarvajit Ś. 1329, for the merit of his father Annāreddi,

In the village of Attirāla in the Cuddapah District, L. R. 20, p. 335.

42. INSCRIPTIONS OF MALLĀ REDDI (ii).

Mallu, a son of Singama Setti of Vētānda-gōtra, built the *prākāra* of the Cennakēśava temple, on śu 11 Āśādha, of the year Vijaya Ś. 1385, while Mallāreddi, the son of Annāreddi was governing the country.

Inscription at Lembāka, Cuddapah District, L. R. 20, p. 338.

43. MÖTUPALLI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE DĒVARĀYA.

The *dharma* śāsana of Dēvarāya Vodaya, son of Mahārapadhiraja Paramēśvara Harihararāya, the lord of the four oceans, to (the inhabitants of) Mötupalli given on Friday Magha śu 4 of the year Durmukhi, Śaka 1312.

According to the custom obtaining in the port of Mötupalli, for all the articles brought down from the ships, the *śāsana* will always be charged at the rate of five; for the *imporvedi* golden *kaewi* (?) articles, (the *sunka* is) eight per *śāsana*; the *kuntas* in the royal *karuku* are 650 (?); for a *parcel* of coral five *rūkas* and an *adaga*; for sealed articles two

kāśus; for Ponnūru white *paccadas* and saris of delicate texture of the same appearance, for saris of the same kind manufactured by the Kaikolas, one *kāśu*. The officers of the king who collect the dues should give a third to Dēvarāya.

L.R. 42, pp. 422-3.

44. DĒVARĀYA I AND VIJAYA AND AHŌBALA CŌDA. *

SUMMARY.

Later, Praudha Dēvarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, and his son Vijaya Dēvarāya had both waged a fierce war upon Ahōbala Cōda, when this town was destroyed; some of the merchants of this place migrated to other countries, whereas a few settled down in a hamlet which was erected.

Kaifiyat of Hanumadgurḍam, L.R. 37, p. 246.

45. VIJAYARĀYA.

Then, Vijayarāya, the son of Praudha Dēvarāya, the king of Vijayanagara came to this part; and having defeated the Malla chiefs † in battle, he began to rule the country.

Kaifiyat of Puṣpagiri, L.R. 13, p. 52.

46. DĒVARĀYA I AND ANNADĒVA CŌDA.

RĀJAHMUNDRY MUSEUM PLATES: ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

1. The son of Bhaktiśvara was Annadēva, a handsome and liberal prince.

2. Annadēva conquered his enemies, and fighting on the side of the Turuṣka king at Sāgar, he destroyed the Karnāṭa forces single-handed.

*An inscription of this Ahōbala Cōda dated S. 1342 (A. D. 1420) is found in the temple of Bhairavēśvarasvāmi at Gōṭīru.

† The Kaifiyat has 'Malla Rājulu'; 'Malla', however, is not the name of their family. Though they were Telugu Cōda princes, the author of the Kaifiyat calls them 'Malla Rājulu', owing probably to the fact that they bore the title '*aprātimalla*'. The Malla Rājulu mentioned in the passage are two in number;

- i. Apratimalla Gangayadēva Cōda Mahārāja. An inscription of this prince dated Thursday Māgha śu 15, Iṣvara, S. 1319 is found in the Bhairavēśvara temple at Gōṭīru near Puṣpagiri (L.R. 13, p. 50).
- ii. Ahōbalayyadēva Cōda Mahārāja, son of Aprati[malla] Ganapati Mahārāja mentioned in another record dated Thursday śa 30, Vaisākha, Plava S. 1322 (ibid). The Mallaṛja whom Vijayarāya defeated must have been Ahōbalayyadēva Cōda.

3. Annadēva of the Cōdakula destroyed Jaggavāga and other enemy cities as Śiva destroyed the three cities; Annadēva's liberality.

4. His devotion to Śiva, Brahmans, etc.

5. He married Irugāmbikā, the daughter of Cakravarti, sister of Pinnundi Rāja, and the fruit of the good deeds of the solar race (Cōda).

6. Virabhadra, the light of the solar race, was the issue of that marriage. Praise of Annadēva resumed.

7. Annadēva conquered the southern rulers at Attili and gave protection to 10,000 of his enemies who surrendered in the heart of the fortress of that city.

8. A fight at Kākaraparti on the banks of the Gōdāvarī in which Annadēva was helped by Pinnundi Rāja is described as a sacrifice performed with the Kannadas and others as sacrificial animals, for the protection of Annadēva's ally.

9. Annadēva, who had vowed the protection of kings that besought his aid, protected the line of Kātaya Vēma in his desire for fame.

J. A. H. R. S. I. p. 184; E. I. XXVI, pp. 44-5.

47. VĪRARĀYA (VIJAYA?)

After the death of Praudha Dēvarāya, Virarāya ruled at Vijayanagara for five years from S. 1347 Viśvāvasu to S. 1352.

Kaifigat of Malamidikambhūlādinne, L. R. 37, p. 301.

48. PRÖLUGANTI TIPPA AND THE TEMPLES OF VIJAÝANAGARA.

SUMMARY.

There was a Brahman called Pröluganti Tippana, (1) who became extremely prosperous owing to the favour of Praudha-rāya whom he served as a commander. (2) He built a *gōpura* to the temple of Viśvāpaka at Hampi; constructed a

bhoga-maṇṭapa to the god Viṭṭhala;* presented a valuable crown to god Raghunātha of the Mālyavanta hill; and offered a pearl-necklace to god Virabhadra of the Matanga hill. He also established the Brahmans in agraḥāras. (3).

Nārasimhapurāṇam: 21, 22, 24; Āndhra Sāhitya Pāriṣat Publications, No. 18.

49. DĒVARĀYA II AND KONDĀVĪDU.

Rudradēva Māharāya of the Kākātiya family ruled until S. 1240; then the Reddis, from the time of Prōlaya Vēmā-reḍdi to that of Rāca Vēmāreḍdi ruled until S. 1340 for a period of one hundred years. Then the country passed under the sway of Gajapatis.† Then, Praudha Dēvarāya, the lord of the Narapati throne defeated the Gajapatis, and annexed the land. His rule commenced in S. 1360.

Kaifiyat of Mulkipūḍi, L. R. 3, p. 492.

50. KONDĀVĪDU AFTER THE FALL OF THE REDDIS (1).

Then, Lāngūla Gajapati, the lord of the Gajapati throne, conquered all the hill and land forts from Cuttack to Udayagiri. He ruled for a period of twelve years (S. S. 1342–1353), when he repaired the (old) fort, and constructed the new ones called Pedamālemkōṭa and Cinamālemkōṭa.

Then the country passed under the sway of the Narapati kings of Ānegondi. Pratāpa Dēvarāya ruled for 7 years; and Harihara 17; both these kings ruled for a period of 24 years; (S. S. 1354–1376). The Narapatis were expelled once again by the Gajapati king Kapileśvara, who conquered the country in S. S. 1377 and ruled for seven years until S. S. 1383. He was succeeded by his valiant son, Puruṣottama, who subdued many countries. He also defeated Nr̥simhadēvarāya and captured the city of Vijayanagara.

Kaifiyat of Kondavīdu, Mac. MSS. 15-4-40, pp. 6-17.

* The prevailing opinion is that the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple was built by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and his successors; but the present extract shows that it was in existence long before the Tuluvas came to power.

†The village chronicles of the Guntur District invariably refer to a Gajapati conquest of the Kondavīdu kingdom immediately after the downfall of the Reddis. The available evidence has nothing to offer in support of this statement.

51. KONDAVIDU AFTER THE FALL OF THE REDDIS (ii).

SUMMARY.

Lāngūla Gajapati ruled for 25 years (S. S. 1340 to 1364).

Praudha Dēvarāya ruled for 7 years.

Harihararāya ruled for 22 years.

The authority of the Rāyas prevailed until S. S. 1388, when Ganēśvara Gajapati put them to flight and ruled until S. S. 1390 for 7 years. Narasimhadēvarāya who then ascended the throne ruled for 25 years, keeping the Aśvapatis and the Gajapatis beyond the Narmadā and the Kṛṣṇā respectively.

Kaifyat of Anantapuram, L.R. 5, pp. 532-3.

52. DĒVARĀYA II AND PŪSAPĀTI RĀCIRĀJU.

SUMMARY.

Rācirāju * defeated in battle Timmana of the Dāmera family; established the Cālukya here upon his throne; he defeated the Mussalmans and captured several of their strong-holds and caused fear to Praudhadēva and other kings by the display of his heroism. (1).

He became great by obtaining rewards from Praudha Dēvarāya, and acquired the title of the establisher of the Cālukya kingdom by securing the kingdom to the Cālukya. (2).

Vishvabhakti Sudhakaram. (an unpublished work.)

53-a. THE CONQUESTS OF RĀCIRĀJU TAMMA.

Rācirāju Tamna was famous among the *rājanyas*; he was a patron of Brahmans; and he bore the burden of the kingdom of his master, the king Kapilēśvara.

A Cāṭu Verse.

* Rācirāju, the founder of the present Pūsapāti family of Vizianagaram was a Kṣattriya chief who rose to prominence during the period of confusion that followed the fall of the Kondavidu kingdom. He became an ally or a subordinate of Dēvarāya II, and an enemy of the Mussalmans and the Velamas of Rācakonda and Dēvarakonda. According to the poem, *Uṣabhyudayam*, dedicated to his son Tamna, he slew in battle the famous Kārasinga who bore the title of *Tribhuvanarāya*. Later, he became a subordinate of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, and rendered him yeoman service in his wars in the Telugu country.

53 (b).

SUMMARY.

Tamma captured Bellamkonda and Rangarajukonda; he vanquished in battle Rāvu Singa, who bore the title of *Tribhuvanirāya*; he saved Bāhāti Khān who sought his protection and took Ōdapalli with considerable skill.

Vishnubhaktisudhikaram (unpublished).

53 (c).

He slew the army of the Gajapati near the hill of Nandāpura, and acquired the title of the Gajapati. Having defeated in battle Śrirangarāja of Bellamkonda and the chief of Ōdapalli, he seized the wealth of their cities with great prowess.

He killed Rāvu Singa who bore the title of *Tribhuvanirāya* on the battle-field of Pedavīdu and he offered protection to Bāhāti Khān who submitted to him with much humility.

Uttarayudayam (unpublished).

54. DĒVARĀYA II, AND GOD TELUNGARĀYA OF ŚRIKĀKOLANU.

SUMMARY.

Vīrenēni Rangarāya, probably with the consent of Kēsanodiyalu of Konḍapalli granted to the God Telunga Vallabha of Śrikākolanu, a field on Sunday, Bhādrapada śu 12, Ś. S. 1367 Krōdhana, so that religious merit might accrue to the king *Virapratāpa Dēvarāya* (1). This *sarvamānya* gift of 12 *pūttis* of land, included in the fields of the village of Mēdūru, was entrusted to the *sthalakarāṇam*, Kancerla Rāmanna who was required to spend its income in defraying the expenses of certain items of worship of the deity. The terms of the grant were engraved upon a stone which was set up in the village. The same arrangement continued during the time when the Gajapati was ruling the country (2)*.

Sarabhakavi : *Adhyātmārāmāyanam* (unpublished); *Tr. Cat. Tel. Mus.*
Vol. III, Pt. III, R. No. 612

*This inscription, which was in existence at the time when Sarabhakavi wrote his poem, has not been brought to light yet. It is important as it shows that Kēsanodiyalu's neighbourhood was included in the dominions of Dēvarāya II in 1445 A.D.

55. PINA SINGA ANNAPĀTA.

SUMMARY.

The first verse refers to Annapāta's victories over the two chiefs called Sammeta Sōma and Sarepali Timma who lived in the country of Kōndavīdu. The second enumerates several battles in which he defeated the Rāya. He plundered the Kōta country beginning with Pānugal; created confusion in the Reddi kingdom as far as Rajahmundry; subdued the Tamil country up to Cennapattana; and destroyed the Bōya-rājya up to Muddōgi. He also vanquished the Sambetas in defiance of the Rāya.

Velugōtivāri Vānsāvali. vv. 153-4.

56. MĀDAYA LINGA.

SUMMARY.

Mādaya Liṅga overpowered the Kannadis in a battle which he fought with them on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā (1). His father, Madhava, won a victory over the Kannadis and he himself captured the fort of Calamacerla (2). He put the Mussalmans to flight and wrested from them thirty-two forts (3). He defeated Sambeta Pinna so that Praudha Dēvarāya might recognize his prowess, and obtained from him the *andes* which heroes wore on their ankles (4). He conquered the Sultān, defied the Narapati, and routed the Gajapati. There was none who could equal Mādaya Liṅga (5).

Velugōtivāri Vānsāvali, vv. 119, 120, 124, 126, 130.

57. THE MUHAMMADAN OFFICERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.

When Praudha Dēvarāya Mahārāya was reigning, sitting upon the jewelled-throne, in the city of Vijayanagara, he conferred the government of Pānem in S. S. 1305, Rudhirōdgāri, on a chief called Pōcam Annāri, who in obedience to the command of the Rāya constructed a fort at the village of Pānem. The fort was then given to a Muhammadan officer called Sābat Mulk, who governed the place for twenty years from S. S. 1315, Śrinukta to S. S. 1335 Vijaya. He was succeeded by another Muhammadan chief, Khānā Khānā Vodeyar, who held the fort

from S. S. 1336, Jaya to S. S. 1366, Raktākṣi in obedience to the wishes of the Rāya ; and his son Sultāni Vodeyar ruled it until S. S. 1406, Krōdhi. His son Rājā Khān ruled from S. S. 1407, Viśvāvasu to S. S. 1419 Pingāla as a subordinate of Sāluva Vīra Narasimharāya who was then reigning at Vidyānagara. During the reign of Sāluva Narasimha, Pāṇem which was under the jurisdiction of the office (*sāvadi*) of Penugonda passed into the hands of Narasā Nāyaka, who was then governing that province. He granted the village of Pāṇem to Honnappa Nāyaka, son of Dēmappa Nāyaka, the watchman of the royal treasury, for his *nāyankara*.

Kaifiyat of Pāṇem Pālatiyapat, I. R. 6, pp. 216-7.

58. DĒVARĀYĀ II.

In the year Plava, Śaka 1343 (expired), Uttama-nambi who fixed the boundary-mound (*ellaikkarai nilaiyitta*) went to Vijayanagara, where he pleased *Gaja-vēṭṭai* (Elephant-hunt) Pratāpadēva Mahārāya by playing chess with him and winning against him ; he received several honours at the king's hands, obtained for his brother a royal charter and the title Cakrarāya together with full rights in a separate *ādhīna* (*matha*), got the king Gajabēṭe Pratāpadēva to declare that the *ādhīnas* of the two brothers had nothing to do with each other (were independent of each other), received all honours, worshipped at all shrines, examined all the sacred affairs (*śrikārya*), secured manifold increase in the wealth of the sacred Arangam, supported *jīyas*, *Vaiśnavas*, *ēkāngīs*, and all *ācāryāpuruṣas*, conducted everything in accordance with ancient rule, gained titles and honours from the Rāya, came to Śrīrangam and looked after the *śrikārya* (temple affairs) ; he joined the *kottu* * of Kōvanavar alias Tiruppatiyār, and began to enjoy some honours himself, while his younger brother got the honours of Sēnāpati. These two *ādhīnams* are still in existence as they were then founded.

Kōyilolukku, p. 131.

* A group of temple or palace servants.

59. UTTAMA-NAMBI.

In Śaka 1354 (expired), Parītāpi, Uttama-nambi built a temple for Hanumantadēva and consecrated his image, both as the service (*kainkaryam*) of Dakṣināsamudrādhipati-dānnāyaka,* who endowed ten new villages as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* under Uttama-nambi.

Kṛṣṇayilolugū, p. 134.

60. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE 15TH CENTURY: ŚRĪNĀTHA.

[Śrīnātha, a great Telugu poet who flourished in the first half of the 15th century A.D., was a great traveller. He visited several places in South India, which he described graphically in verses. The following is a summary of a few of these verses which refer to places then included in the Vijayanagara empire.]

(a). PALNĀD.

Palnād in general :—Men of taste do not visit Palnād ; for, (in that district) even a king has to plough, and women, though they may be as beautiful as the *apsaras* Rambhā, have to spin ; and even Manmatha (Cupid) has to subsist upon millet (1).

The villages have no shops; rice is not available for food; the men are untidy, and the women ungainly ; water is scarce ; and there are no gardens to please the eye ; men of merciful and generous disposition are rarely met with. Why then should one frequent Palnād ? (2)

The villages of Palnād :—Small stones—each of which is a *pebble*,—the water of the Nāgula stream, blocks of granite, the food of cooked millet and bajra, serpents and scorpions, these constitute the common features of the villages in Palnād (3).

The Village Purōhit's house :—The hygienic conditions of the *purōhit's* house baffle description : within the limits of a house of one *dōsīti* extent trampled by cattle (are massed together) a cot, the dung of calves, rancid food, the excreta of children, leaf platters, dirty linen, widows with unshaven heads, cooking pots and heaps of fuel (4).

Food :—The people of Palnād district subsist upon millet porridge, fermented millet water, cooked millet and millet stuff. Excepting millet they have nothing else to eat, and the cooked rice of the Sanna variety is unknown to them (5).

O Lotus-eyed (Kṛṣṇa), do not be puffed up with pride because you sucked at the poisoned breasts of (the demoness) Pūtanā, and devoured the wild-fire. Swallow a morsel of the cooked millet mixed with a hot dish of *baccali* herb seasoned with the leaves of the tamarind tree, then your capacity will be tested (6).

Water scarcity :—He who possesses wealth (or Lakṣmī) i. e. Viṣṇu deserves to marry sixteen-thousand wives. Why should a beggar (like Śiva) marry two wives? O! Paramēśvara, Pārvatī is enough for you; release Gangā (i. e. water) (7).

Religion :—To the people of Palnād the hero-stones are the divine liṅgas; Cenna is Viṣṇu. On enquiry Kālabhairava is found to be Kallupōturāju, and Annapūraṇā is the Śakti Ankamma; Maṇikarnika is the pool Gangadhāra, and Kārem-pūdi is the holy city, Kāśi (8).

Houses :—When people spoke of terraced-houses of Palnād, I imagined that they are finer to look at than our polished, white mansions; but alas! I am deceived; they resemble women with black tresses, adorned with ornaments and besmeared with (the paste of) musk (9).

Some villages :—

Pulipādu :—The name of the village is Vyāghranagara (the tiger city); the Karṇam is a serpent (Sēṣayya), the headman is a monkey (Hanumāreddi), the Nāyaka is straw (Kesavayya). All the elements of evil are grouped here (in this village in the district of Gurijāla (10).

Nemalipuri :—Nemalipuri is the city of Yama; Basivi-reddi is Yama, and all the farmers are his messengers; and the Karanams are buffaloes who do not know what is property (11).

60 (b). THE MASARA KINGDOM.

How very horrid is residence in the Masara country to a sensible man ! The finest cloth (worn by the people) is the rough woollen blanket ; (the bed is) a rickety bug-infested cot, with a chafing-dish underneath, and drugs nearby to cure rheumatism and indigestion. Bundles of fire-wood are heaped up in the courtyards (of houses) ; and mosquitoes and white-lice (are everywhere) (13).

Alas ! how did that adulterous Brahmā create this Masara country ! (The people wear) dirty and coarse garments and crooked turbans and carry curved swords ; (they eat) thick porridge mixed with a dish of jute-leaves. Their looks are crafty, and the speech is wrongly accented (14).

Respect is unknown ; gentility and goodness are unreal ; truth and kindness are non-existent. (The people) show discrimination in serving food (at dinner), and refuse to give even alms to beggars. How can that Brahmā who endowed the people with these qualities avoid being Prajāpati ? * (15).

60 (c). THE RĒNĀDU COUNTRY.

Food :—Don't be conceited, O ! Destroyer of Cities, because you devoured poison ; go to, go to ; eat a morsel of the bright cooked-millet of Rēnādu ; your heroism will indeed be put to the test (16).

60 (d). VYĀPĀRIS OF THE WEST.

We saw, on our way the cruel *vyāpāris* (merchants) of the west who filled our minds with abhorrence. They carried with them bundles of paper, shells of ink, pens and paste made of the tamarind seeds. Their cloaks diffused an evil smell ; and their nether garments dyed with ochre reeked with the odour of their sweat. They wore awe-inspiring beards, and spoke broken Canarese (17).

* There is pun on the word Prajāpati.

60 (e). KARNATA.

I wore a cap and rolled a garment over it; put on a laced-cloak and consumed garlic and seasmum flour served by an unshorn widow; ate porridge with butter-milk, and abandoned delicacies as if they were sins. O! Mother, the Goddess of the Karnāṭa Kingdom, have you still no pity on me? I am Śrīnātha (18).

60 (f). VIJAYANAGARA.

Śrīnātha and Mumma :—O! Good poet Mumma, be kind to me in the presence of the king Praudhadēvarāya; I can compose poetry which is equal in pleasantness to the fragrance of the āragvadha flowers worn in the matted locks of (the god) Virūpākṣa of Pampā; in melody to the harmonious sounds produced by the lofty waves of the Tungabhadrā; in sweetness to the bunches of grapes grown in the plantain gardens of Kalasā; and in splendour to the lustre of gold and gems of the ear-rings worn by the damsels of Karnāṭa (19).

60 (g). NĀRIVĀGU.

The boundary between the kingdoms of Kondāvīdu and Vijayanagara :—Did not Arjuna hide his Gāndīva in a tree at the command of Dharmaja? Similarly, at the command of the Goddess of learning, I also kept my titles with humility near the streamlet Nārivāgu with the object of picking them up again on my way back to the Telugu country (20).

60 (h). MĀRELLA SIMA.

Mārella-sima shines, indeed, by its prosperity. In the middle of the village streets are stones and stone-mortars; the *jilleḍu* (arka) plant grows in abundance in the precincts of every village; the *sāvadis* (travellers' camping places) stand apart; the people put on a *vadadōlu* (a leather garment?) about their waist; eat multi-coloured food and porridge carried in *kāvadis*; and drink water that oozes out (of the ground or the rocks). The temples are desolate and ruinous; and the nāga-stones are the only gods that are worshipped (22).

60 (i). DRĀVIDA.

SUMMARY.

People and their habits :—I had to see the good and evil (aspects of the life) of the Drāvidas. *Cōlam* is the staple food; *kārāmadi* (a kind of pulse) serves for curry; and *kanjee* for supper. Butter-milk is rare; and the *chaṭnis* are bitter. Sugarcane juice is plenty. Food is cooked on *dālis* of dried dung-cakes, and the water has to be fetched from the street wells. The people bear strange names; they have wide mouths, hanging lobes and shaven heads. Their women are bare-breasted. There is a twist in every word they utter. Their fields are small and the ploughs which are drawn by the buffaloes tiny. But the mango groves are shady, *vāvilis* dense, and the *padis* (?) green (23).

The Tamil Pillai :—The Tamil Pillai is the veritable calf of an elephant in consuming food; a pigling in flight; a kitten in spoiling things; and a monkey in appearance (24).

Feasts :—They serve, at first, *cāru* (rasam) spiced strongly with pepper, the pungency of which penetrates like some hot vapour into the ears; the caustic odour of the mustard with which the *paccadis* are prepared finds its way into the brain; the curry made of fried *avise* (flax) leaves destroys the health for a period of six months; *parimela* (?) tests the strength of the teeth; the sight of the powder of the dried margosa leaves in the plate is enough to cause vomiturition. The dinner in a Tamil household is a fraud. Nevertheless, they praise, without a sense of humour, the sumptuous character of their feasts. (25).

61. MALLIKĀRJUNA.

Mallikārjunarāya ruled at Vijayanagara for 19 years from S. S. 1354, *Paridhāvi* to S. S. 1372, *Pramōdūta*. *

Kalīyat of Malamidi-Kambhālādinne, L.R. 37, p. 301.

62. PEDA SINGAMA ANNA AND PÖLĒPALLI BUKKA.

SUMMARY.

Two sons, *Pina-Singama* and *Annama*, were born to *Peda Singama*. When *Annama* lay encamped outside *Arukacēnu*

* The dates are wrong.

with the object of besieging Gāndikōṭa, Pōlēpalli Bukkarāja killed him in a battle at night. His younger brother, Singama sent his gallant brother-in-law Jūpalli Konda to capture Bukkarāja, who shut himself in the fort of Podacēdu. Konda entered the fort, and having promised Bukkarāja protection, brought him to the camp. *

Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvali; vv. 146-7; *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra*, p. 84.

63. THE SERVICES OF KAMPARĀJA MALLA AND JANNAYA NĀYAKA.

Before all this, in Śaka 1383, Citrabhānu, Kamparājamalla Junarāya (Mallikārjuna?) took down the old bronze flag-staff standing in the sacred court of Aniyarangan, and placing it in the big sacred kitchen and covered it with gilded copper-plates comprising 112 plates including elephant plate and *nācī*-plate, the gold used in gilding the staff and the Garuda on the top of it being 1,600 palams. He gave (to the temple) several jewels besides.

As the *dvārapālakās* on the southern side of the *gopura* of Alinādan (Tirumangai) had been damaged in the period of Islam, Jannaya Nāyaka installed the *Cakra* and *Garuda* there.

Kōyilolugu, p. 141.

64. SERVICES OF KAMPARĀJA.

The restoration of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the *dvārapālakās* of Gōpuraranganāyaka, damaged by the Muhammadans, was the work of Kampaya-rāja, who came to Tiruccirāppalli *sāvādi* before in the year Bahudhānya.

Kōyilolugu, p. 142.

65. SERVICES OF TIRUMALAINĀTHA UTTAMA-NAMBI.

In Śaka 1366, (expired) Raktākṣi, Tirumalainātha Uttama-nambi went to Vijayanagara on a collection tour (*tāndavāṇi*), got twenty-two villages from Praudhadēvarāyar Mallikārjuna-rāya, returned to Śrīrangam in the year Prajōtpatti, caused

* Pōlēpalli Bukkarāja was a famous Kṣatriya chieftain of the 15th century; he was a subordinate of the king of Vijayanagara. The passage shows that the Velamas were not completely subdued yet.

the eaves of the Perumāldēvan *maṇḍapa* to be built, caused the eastern compound wall of the *tirukkōṭṭāram* to be pulled down to its foundations as it had decayed by age and caused its stone and brick courses to be renovated, built the flooring of the first hall (*mudal kāṭṭu*), built a hundred-pillared hall to the east of the big sacred *maṇḍapa*, and caused an *abhiṣēka* with 1,000 pots to be made there on the occasion of the *jyēṣṭābhīṣēka*.

When *Kulittandal* Kamparāja came to Tiruccirāppallī *sāvadi* as the authorised representative of the Rāya, Tirumalairāja said that these parts of the country should be left (to him), and there arose differences between them. In Śaka 1380, Pramādi, Purattāsi month, the *sabhaiyār* and *nāṭṭār* of the southern and northern banks set out along with the peasants (*kudigal*), laid the country waste, and lived in the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* and in foreign lands for a period of twelve years; then in Śaka 1392, Khara, the Tiruccirāppallī-śīma and Tandal-śīma passed under Tirumalairāja, and all the citizens of the southern and northern banks met Tirumalairāja and returned to their respective villages.

Kōjilolugu, p. 139.

66. SERVICES OF SĀLUVA TIRUMALAI RĀJA.

As the construction of Sakkalavan, the northern gate of the sacred street of Alināḍan, had fallen into decay, in the Śaka year 1392, Khara, Tirumalairāja renovated that *gopura*; he also made a towered gate in the sacred wall of Alināḍan *tirumadil* in the east of the *Veliyalagiyān* to give direct access to the thousand-pillared hall; thence, for the *Tiruvāyomoli* festival, the deity comes to the *Veliyalagiyān* and enters the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* by this gate*.....
Sāluva Tirumalairāja also erected in the sacred *maṇḍapa* of Alagiya Maṇavāla a *maṇḍapamēḍai* of sandalwood crowned by three finials (*kudam*) covered with gilded copper, and placed in it an ivory bedstead beneath a canopy (*capparam*) of ivory.

Kōjilolugu, pp. 142-3.

*The omitted passage only describes the procession with the *maṇḍapamēḍai*.

67. SERVICES OF KRŚNARĀYA UTTAMA-NAMBI.

His (Tirumalainātha Uttama-nambi's) brother, Kṛṣṇarāya Uttama-nambi got from Ēramāñji Timmappa-Nāyakkar and others twenty villages as *tiruviḍaiyāttam* gift in Śaka year 1409, Plavanga, and built the front *maṇḍapa* of the Tirukkottāra, renovated the sacred wall (*madil*) on which was the goddess, Śengamalanāyakiyār consecrated by Nalandigal Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, because it had grown old and dilapidated, and renewed the flooring of the second granary which had been cut up by bandicoots, besides erecting a stone post in it and otherwise strengthening it.

Kōyilolugu, p. 140.

68. PRATĀPA DĒVARĀYA.

SUMMARY.

Velugōṭi Peda Kondama, son of Kumāra Timma and grandson of Citti Kondama, and a subordinate of Pratāpa-dēva Mahārāya, who was ruling the earth, seated on the diamond throne in his capital, Penugonda, in Śaka 1377, Iśvara, Māgha su. 5 made the grant of some land to a temple.

An Inscription at Bādinēnipalli, L. R. 13, p. 247

69. THE GAJAPATIS.

4. Praise of the sun.
5. In his line was Kapilēśvara Gajapati, victorious over both the groups of enemies, (internal and external).

* * * *

8. He attacked Vidyānagara, the capital of the Karnāta king, and levied a heavy tribute from him.
9. By his orders Kumāra Hamvīra conquered the ~~southern~~ lands right up to the southern ocean.
10. That king of Utkala (Kapilēśvara) ruled from his capital Kataka and many subordinate kings came and made obeisance to him.

70. AKATABHĀNUDĒVA AND KAPILĒŚVARA.

SUMMARY.

Akatabhānu was childless. He prayed to God who gave out in the king's dream that he would find a boy in the temple of Vimalā-Pārvatī on the next day and that he should bring him up and make him his successor. Accordingly, he went to the temple next morning ; and finding a boy there, took him to his queen in the palace, and gave him the name of Kapila Sāmantārao. Towards his last days, the Moghuls invaded his country and demanded a large ransom. The king paid a portion and for the remainder left his son, Kapila Sāmantārao, as a hostage. The king died soon after.* Akatabhānu (Skt.) [Akatiavabhānu (Tel.)] ruled for 15 years up to Śaka 1374.†

*Kaṭakarūja Vāṁśāvaṭi, (India Office Ms.) Aufrecht, cc. i. p. 77 ;
Kaifiyat of Jagannātham, (Skt.), Mac. Ms. 15-6-48, f. 12-b, (Tel.) f. 17-b—18.*

71. GAJAPATI KAPILĒŚVARA.

SUMMARY.

The Moghuls then released Kapila Sāmanta and sent him to rule this country.

This king, when he was young, had a friend called Kāśidāsa, son of Banamāli. Soon after the king's accession, Kāśidāsa, finding that he was disregarded by his royal friend, broke into the royal palace through a hole made in the wall and carried away valuables. He was, however, arrested and brought before the king. On being questioned, why he committed theft, he said that the profession was formerly practised both by Kapilēśvara and himself, and seeing that the former, who had now become king, neglected him, he committed theft to bring home to his mind his ingratitude towards his old *confrère*. Thereupon, the king appointed him as his *purōhit* of the palace as well as the temple of Jagannātha and bestowed on him the office of the royal astrologer, and called him Kāśipada Jōssi.

The above chronicle sums up here the rule of the Kings of the Gaṅga dynasty in a
series of 18 reigns. The kings of the Gaṅgavāṇīa are 18 in number, their rule extended
over 180 years.

* Tel. he is said to have ruled for 15 years.

The king constructed the outer *prākāra* walls to the temple (Jagannātha). When he went subsequently to Vaṅga to bathe in the Ganges, he granted an *agrahāra* to the Bengali Brahmans and named it Tulasipura. He was at his capital for one year after his return from the holy bath in the Ganges. Then he invaded the western countries in the 9th year, and conquered them. In the 10th year, he attacked Kimidi, and subdued it.

In the 11th year, there was a great famine in the country. One *bharanam* of grain was sold at 105 *kāṇāla-gavvalu* (Skt. Karṣapāṇa). Many people died of hunger. He erected a fortress on the Mahēndragiri, and resided there.* [He made Kapilēśvarapura an *agrahāra* (*i. e.* a gift to Brahmans). He won victories over the kings of Āli, Kanaka, Kerāda, Kunjugu (?) and captured a fortress called Mallikā in the country of Kundajari. Again the famine recurred, when one *bharanam* cost 100 *kāṇāla-gavvalu*. Many perished of hunger.]† In the 19th year he laid siege to Vidyānagara; he took forcible possession of the kingdom from its ruler and made Amir the ruler of that kingdom. ‡ When he returned to his country, he granted to Brahmans Dāmōdarapura as an *agrahāra*. Then, in the 23rd year there was a storm and the whole country was under water. Many persons died. In the same year, he defeated the king of Kēdrajhāri (Skt. Kundajōri) and took his queen Candrāvat as a captive and appointed his own brother-in-law (*syāda*) Naraśinga as the ruler of the country.

In the 25th year his authority spread as far as Sēti (Rāmēśvara) and he returned to Jagannātha. He had several sons and could not decide on whom he should bestow his kingdom. He invoked the aid of God who appeared to him in a

*The Sanskrit text reads—In the 14th year he conquered the country called Mahēndra. (*i.e.* Rājamahēndra) and ruled over it.

† The portion enclosed in the square brackets is not found in the Sanskrit chronicle.

‡ The Telugu Ms. does not mention the year in which the king made the attack upon Vidyānagara. The passage runs thus: 'Having subdued Vidyānagara, he bestowed the kingship on Amir' (*i.e.* Hamvira); but the Skt. chronicle does not mention this.

dream and told him that Puruṣottama, his son by a prostitute, would succeed him. Greatly astonished at the choice, he summoned his ministers and nominated Puruṣottama as his successor. The king, accompanied by the boy, went to reside in the country of Kundajhari (Skt. Kṛṣṇajhōri) on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā. There he died, in the 27th year of his reign.

The king ruled for 27 years (till S. S. 1401.)

Kaṭakarāja Vañśāvalī, (India Office Ms.) Aufrecht, cc. i. p. 77;
Kaifiyat of Jagannātham, (Skt.), Mac. MSS. 15-6-48, f. 12-b-13-b.

72. THE VICTORIES OF GAJAPATI KAPILEŚVARA
 AND HIS SUBORDINATES: (i) GAJARĀVU TIPPA.

Gajarāvu Tippa of shining valour.....won a victory over the Yavanas in the plain outside the strong (fort of) Kambamuttu in the presence of Ambarāya; he put the soldiers to flight in a fierce battle at Kōsūr; he overthrew the whole army of Kātaya Vēma near Gundukolanu; and he inflicted a crushing defeat on Gamadapāmātya at Kondavīdu and at the fort of Peddakonda near the frontier.

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, p. 11

73. THE VICTORIES OF GAJAPATI KAPILEŚVARA AND
 HIS SUBORDINATES: (ii) DĀMERA TIMMA.

Begwada is like the elephant stable at Katakam; Órugall the (royal) treasury near (the palace); Tondamarāyagull the vegetable market; Bēdadakōṭa the spinach garden in the back-yard; (the seven) Mādes the hunting ground of the heroes; Māhūr the pleasure garden of the palace; Kambha the posts for fastening elephants; Delhi the suburb where the horses of the city are kept; and the mighty Dēvarakonda the hill (of sport). When the victories of the Gajarāja such as these are described, your emblem, the lion of Kōrugallu, O Dāmera Timma, points out the directions (in which these places are situated).

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, p. 167

74. NIRVĀNARĀYA alias PEDARĀYA.

SUMMARY.

As Nirvānarāya caused his umbrella to be held over his head on the battlements of Velugōdu, the Gajapati bestowed on him the title of Velugōtirāya (1). He fought a fierce battle with some unknown enemy to the west of Mahānandi (in the Kurnool district), when he was slain (2—3). He went to Vaikunṭha, and was received with much warmth by the God Viṣṇu (4—8).

Velugōtivāri Vāṁśāvalī, vv. 190, 197—201, 209, 214.

75. VIRŪPĀKṢA.

Virūpākṣarāya ruled at Vijayanagara for two years until S. S. 1396, Jaya.*

Kaifiyat of Malamīdi-Kambhālādinne, L. R. 37, p. 302.

76. TAMMAYA BASAVA REDDI.

SUMMARY.

Tammaya Basava flourished in the kingdom of Udayagiri favoured by the goddess of victory (1). He obtained the privilege of riding in a palanquin from the Gajapati, and unlimited enjoyments of royalty from the king of Karnāṭa. He created terror in the minds of Muhammadan warriors by his deeds of valour; and he exacted tribute forcibly from the petty chiefs residing in Telingāṇa (2).

Vennelakanti Sūrayya : *Vippupurānam* 1 : 37, 41.

77. SĀLUVA NARASIMHA.

Sāluva Narasingarāya ruled for 20 (twenty) years until S. S. 1420, Kālayukti.†

Kaifiyat of Malamīdi-Kambhālādinne, L. R. 37, p. 302.

78. THE SERVICES OF KANDĀDAI RĀMĀNUJADĀSAR.

The following are the details of the services done by Kandādaī Rāmānuja who came in the Śaka year, 1413. Vira Narasingarāya was successful against Praudhadēvarāya and was ruling the

*The date and the regnal years are wrong.

†Both the Śaka date and the duration of the reign given in the Kaifiyat are not correct.

kingdom from the city of Ghanagiri. His elder brother Rāmarāja, learned in all the *śāstrās*, renounced the world, undertook a *tirthayātra* and worshipped Hanumān; he went to Ayōdhyā and obtained *Śrī-Rāma-māḍas* and the *sparśavēdi*; he then returned to Ghanagiri in the guise of a *bairāgi*, met his younger brother, Vīra Narasingarāya, gave him a *Śrī-Rāma-māḍa*, obtained an order under royal seal and a letter authorising the *dēśāntri-mudra* for himself in all the 108 *tirupatis*, gave a *Rāma-māḍa* to the temple of Tirumalaipperumāl, brought all the sacred *sthala* there under his control in accordance with the royal order, and then, reaching the sacred city of Śrīrangam in Śaka year 1411, Saumya, he gave a *Rāma-māḍa* to the Perumāl (deity) and became a disciple at the feet of Kandāḍai-Annān; he was very much devoted to the study of all *śāstrās*, put on the robes of an *ēkāngi*, and obtained the *dāsyanāma* Kandāḍai-Rāmānujādāsan in the presence of Annān*.....

Kōyilolugu, pp. 143-5.

79. THE REVOLT OF THE SAMBETA CHIEFS :

(i) SAMBETA VĪRA NARASIMHA.

While Sāluva Narasimhadēva Mahārāya was ruling in the city of Vijayanagara, seated on the jewelled-throne, a chief of the *Patra* caste, Vankara Kumāra Dhūli Basi Nāyādu by name, entered his service with three thousand retainers. Sambeta Vīra Narasimharāja, a kinsman of Sambeta Pinnaya-dēva Mahārāja, the ruler of Pēranipādu, a place situated at a distance of twenty miles to the north of Kadapa, rose in rebellion. He retired to a hill called the Lankamala, lying at a distance of fifteen miles to the north-east of Pēranipādu, and having established himself with his army at Maddi-Gūḍāla, he began to plunder the neighbouring districts. As soon as Narasimhadēva Mahārāya heard of the activities of Vīra Narasimharāja, he commanded Vankara Kumāra Dhūli Basi Nāyādu to march to Kamalāpur in the Kadapa country, and

* This passage omitted contains the routine of temple service and the account of a breach in the head of the Kīvéri and its repair.

protect the villages in its neighbourhood, as well as the travellers journeying along the Kāśī-Rāmēśvara Road from the attacks of Vīra Narasimharāja.

Dhūli Basi Nāyadū, in obedience to the royal command, left Vijayanagara with all his retinue, and arrived, in course of time, at Kamalāpura which he made his headquarters. He advanced upon Maddi-Gundāla, and after a fight with the followers of Vīra Narasimharāja, captured it. Vīra Narasimha fled to Udayagiri. Dhūli Basi Nāyadū returned to Kamalāpūr, and devoted his time in keeping guard over the Great Road (*bhārā-mārga*), and the villages in its vicinity.

Kaiśyayat of Pattūrūpālēni, L. R. 9, pp. 248-9.

80. REVOLT OF THE SAMBETA CHIEFS : (ii) SAMBETA ŚIVARĀJA.

Sivarāja, the son of (Sambeta) Pinnayadēva Mahārāja, used to collect the *kāvali* dues from all the *sīmas* in the neighbourhood as far as they were accessible to him without any regard for his equals. When Sāluva Narasimharāya Maharāya who was ruling at Vijayanagara in S. 1425 Rudhirōdgāri,* obtained intelligence of the conduct of the Sambeta chief, being unable to tolerate (this defiance of authority), he marched with an army against him; and (having reached his capital, Pēranipādu) he set up his camp on the southern side of the town. Then he ordered that his guns should open fire upon the fort. As the guns mounted on the bastions of the fort gave a vigorous reply, the besiegers, who were encamped outside, were obliged to take shelter behind a hillock called the Gaggitippa. Having perceived that the hillock, at one point on its northern face, was higher than the bastions of the fort, they seized it at night, and by means of a scaffolding which they quickly erected, they set up a battery of guns on its summit and began to bombard the fort before it was morning. It was no longer possible to keep the guns of the bastions in position. The shots fired from a higher altitude penetrated the three enclosures of the fort, and fell upon the palaces, which as a consequence were levelled to the ground.

* The date is too late for Sāluva Narasimha.

The bastions and embrasures were completely demolished. Some of the defenders of the fort sought safety in flight; whereas the rest together with the families of the chiefs including the young and the old, perished at the hands of the enemy.

Kaifiyat of Piranipadu, L. R. 5, p. 131-2.

81. SĀLUVA NARASIMHA AND THE SAMBETA GURAVARĀJA.

During the reign of Mummadī Praudhadēvarāya (*i. e.* Mallikārjuna), Sambēta Venkātarāja, who was a descendant of Sambēta Kondarāju, an officer in the service of Nallasiddhi Cōla Mahārāja of Nellore, rose to power, and established his authority over some villages of the Siddhavatam tāluka.

After the reign of this Mallikārjuna Rāya, Sāluva Narasimhadēvarāya ascended the throne of Vijayanagara. It is said that during his reign, Guravarāja, son of Sambēta Venkātarāja, built a fort at Mācupalli, a village situated at a distance of four miles to the south-west of Siddhavatam, and making it his residence, he ruled the country in the neighbourhood.

Kaifiyat of Siddhavatam, L. R. 9, p. 275.

82. THE WAR BETWEEN SĀLUVA NARASIMHA AND SĀLUVA MALIDĒVARĀJA.

As there was enmity between Misaraganda Kathāri Sāluva Vira Narasimhadēva Mahārāya, the lord of the throne of the Narapatis, and Sāluva Malidēvarāja, the Rāya marched at the head of his army and (laid siege to Bommavaram). To the east of the village there stands a hillock called Āgetippa, on the west of which was a sluice Daderru by name resembling a step (पद्म). He caused an inclined plane of stone to be constructed from the sluice to the top of the hillock; and had the gun carriages pushed to the summit of the hillock over the plane. Having caused a battery to be erected there, he opened fire on the walls of the fort which were destroyed in a short time. It is said that the inhabitants including women and children committed suicide by drowning themselves in a tank in front of the village. Vira Narasimhadēva Mahārāya had the fort and the palaces demolished and marched (with his army) to Udayagiri. Owing

to the disturbances caused by this war, and the pillage of the countryside, the citizens of that town deserted and migrated to other places (which offered them security). As a consequence of this, the village fell into ruin.

Kaifiyat of Bommavarām, L. R. 17, pp. 142-3.

83. KAVUTĀLA SĪMA DURING THE REIGN OF SĀLUVA NARASIMHA.

After the rule of the Yādavarāyas,* this district was very much harassed by the *pālaigārs*. Sāluva Narasingarāya then assumed the reins of government and put down the power of the *pālaigārs*. As the villages around Kavutāla were situated far from one another, he established the following villages so that they might stand close to one another.

* * * * *

The villages which were thus established were constituted into a division called the *samut* of Kavutālam after the oldest village in the group. The reign of Sāluva Narasingarāya lasted from S. S. 1403 to S. S. 1423.† As the country was not as properly governed as before, the people deserted their homes, and migrated to Mānuve sīma on the other bank of the Tungabhadrā which then belonged to the Moghuls.‡

Kaifiyat of Ādavāni, L. R. 40, pp. 338-9.

84. PURUŚOTTAMA GĀJAPATI.

SUMMARY.

Then Puruśottama was anointed as the king in his southern camp on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. When he returned to Kātaka (the capital) his 18 brothers who were born in lawful wedlock objected to his accession as king. He declared that he was God's choice. They proposed to test the statement by jointly beating him with a *savali*. He withstood the test. According to their pledge they retired from the country ~~surrendering~~ the kingdom to Puruśottama.

* The Yādavarāyas were a family of shepherds who held sway over Ādavāni during the rule of the Sangama kings.

† The dates are not accurate.

‡ By Moghals the writer of the *Kaifiyat* means the Mussalmans of ~~Orissa~~.

He constructed in the 7th year of his reign *Bhoga-mandapa* to the God, and in the 9th year a stone *prakara* (enclosing wall) called *Kūrmabēda*. [A statue of Padmācārya, the king's preceptor, who died at that time, was made and set up in front of the God in his memory].* One Dāsmudri, (Skt. Dāsamuduli) a cook of his household, used to prepare sweets (for offerings) and with the remainder of the flour he made bread and having offered it to the God secretly behind the *garuḍa-stambha*, ate it. The report of his conduct reached the king's ears, and he ordered the cook to be brought to his presence. But the God intervened and said that the action of the priest was acceptable to him. Henceforward the cook was granted the *prasāda* (cooked food offered to the God) after the night's big *bhoga* (main *naivedya*), and the office of the head-cook (*mahāsūpakāra*) was bestowed upon him.

Puruṣottama heard of the existence of a girl of the *padmini* class, a daughter of the king of Kāncī, and sent messengers (*harkaras*) to demand her hand in marriage. The king of Kāncī declined the offer; but Puruṣottama insisted that she should be given to him in marriage, but he had to take the rebuff again. With wounded pride the enraged king led an army against Kāncī but was defeated. On his return he prayed to the God Jagannātha, who, appearing to him in a dream, promised to lead him the next day in the guise of Balarāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa riding on white and black horses respectively. But the king should start on the expedition only after visiting the temple of Durgāmādhava, which he did.

The king set out with the four kinds of troops; but he was a little doubtful about the divine brothers going in advance. The deities understood his anxiety; and in order to ease his mind, they sent to him a shepherdess from whom they had purchased some butter-milk and offered in return a ring instructing her to hand it over to the king who was following them and obtain payment. The king was greatly pleased to see the ring and asked her what she wanted. She prayed that the king might do something to perpetuate her memory. Orders

*The statement enclosed within the square brackets is not found in the Skt chronicle.

were given for the foundation of a town called Māṇikyapura and the construction of a Śiva temple therein. An officer was left behind with sufficient money to carry out the orders*.

He advanced on Kāñcī and after a fight won the damsel together with a large fortune. He carried away a number of images of various Gods including Sākṣi Gōpāla.† While he was returning home laden with the spoils of war, he wished to know how the gods helped him. Then a person of the Guḍiya caste brought to the king a whip and demanded from him the price of jaggery-water which he had supplied to two of his thirsty cavaliers who were marching in advance. The king took the whip, and rewarded him with the payment of gold coins. The acceptance of water by the gods at the hands of a Guḍiya removed the ban upon that caste once for all.

Then the king crossed the Gōdāvarī and encamped on the (eastern) side. Meanwhile the king of Kāñcī advancing against him with a large army stopped on the other side of the river. The king who succeeded in attaining his object with divine help now felt anxious and asked (his *purōhit*) Gōdāvarī Rājaguru to protect the army from attack by his miraculous powers. The *purōhit* pronounced a *mantra*, and the waters of the river began to swell rendering it impossible for the enemy to cross. The king resumed his march and reached Jagannātha. There in the (main) temple in the *Bhōga-māṇḍapa* in front of the God he installed the image of Sākṣi Gōpālasvāmi (Skt. Sātyavādi Kṛṣṇamūrti.) As the God objected to his installation in the *Bhōga-māṇḍapa*, the king ordered the construction of a new temple in a village called Kamṭulabāyi (Skt. Caturdvāra-nāma-nagara,) on the bank of the Mahānādi and installed Śrī Gōpāla in it.

The king fixed his residence at Kataka in anticipation of his marriage with the *padminī* who also accompanied him. The king was about to enter her palace on the night after her

* The foundation of Māṇikyapattana is not referred to in the Skt. chronicle.

† Skt. Sātyavādi-nāmaka-Kṛṣṇamūrti.

period, when her maidens expressed to him their surprise that having already visited her once he should chose to come back again so soon after his departure. With mingle feelings of surprise and resentment he went back to his palace, where in his dream God Dhavalēśvara appeared to him and said that he was the person who had visited the *padmini*. Further, the God told him that the male child that would be born of her would be an emperor. The king was gratified and the child was named Pratāpajanāmaṇi.

The king had learning and patronised scholars. (He wrote several works). He ruled for 30 years.

Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvalī, (India Office Ms.) Aufrecht cc. i. p. 77
Kaifiyat of Jagannātham (Skt.), Mac. Ms. 15-6-48, f. 13-b—15-a

85. THE ĀRAVĪDU KINGS.

SUMMARY.

Āravīti *Bukka* and his Ancestors:—The famous Tāta Pinnama was *Bukka*'s grandfather's grandfather; the wise Sōmidēva was his grandfather's father; the brave Rāghavadēva was his grandfather; and the kind Pinnama was his father. *Bukka* who was commonly known as the tiger among the feudatory chiefs (*Mame-puli*) became the establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva Narasingarāya.

Padya Bālabhāgavatam, Mac. Ms. 19-2-4.

86. ĀRAVĪTI BUKKA.

Āravīti *Bukka*, the best of chiefs, was born to him (Pinnama) by his wife *Aubhaļadēvi*. At the time of his birth, the other chiefs became pale like the stars at the time of the rise of the Moon. He was the chosen friend of Sāluva Narasingarāya, the crest-jewell of the kings. *Bukka* acquired fame as the protector of the wise.

Dvipada-Bālabhāgavatam, Mac. Ms. 13-2-19, p. 285.

87. SĀLUVA NARASIMHA'S WAR UPON THE QUTB SHĀH AND THE GAJAPATI.

At the time when Narasimharāya waged war upon the Qutb Shāh and the Gajapati, *Bukkarāja* accompanied him as far as Delhi with 4,000 Kṣatriyas of Murikinādu, 2,500 Velmas

and Kammas together with all his kinsmen. When the Qutb Shāhi troops broke, the army of Bārnō (?) Gajapati came to their rescue. The army of the Rāya, which was defeated, retreated to the banks of the Narmadā (pursued by the victorious enemy); but Bukka with the help of his followers arrested the enemy's progress and acquired great glory by putting them to flight. The Rāya who was struck with the courage of Bukka conferred upon him as *jāgīr Āravīdu* and Celamanūr yielding a revenue of 2 lakhs of *varāhas* in addition to the estate fetching one lakh which he was already enjoying.

Karṇāṭakarājya Vṛttāntamu, Journal of the Telugu Academy, X, pp. 194-5.

88. PURUŚOTTAMA.

11. His son was Puruśottama, well beloved of the Earth.

* * * *

13. He struck terror into the hearts of his enemies and Nr̥simha, the king of the Karnāṭa country surrendered Udayagiri out of fear and thus released himself.

Anantavaram Copper-Plates, Āndhra Patrika, Ugādi Saṃcika, 1928-9, pp. 175-6.

89. KAPILĒNDRA AND PURUŚOTTAMA.

1. Praise of the solar line of kings.
2. In the line of the Raghus, there arose king Kapilēndra, who resembled Rāma and was bright like the Sun and powerful like Īśvara.
3. Other kings were afraid of him in war.
4. Praise of his queen Pārvatī.
5. Pārvatī gave birth to Puruśottama, to whom all kings made obeisance.
6. Praise of Puruśottama's valour and beauty.
7. This Puruśottama Gajapati who is the subject of my praise made the Karnāṭa king Nr̥simha a prisoner of war, and again released him when, with plaintive words, he acknowledged submission; he also compelled the great foe Hamvīra to bow before the footstool of his lotus feet.

90. NARASĀ NĀYAKA.

Several villages were ruined as a consequence of the rebellion of Hāmani Timmappa in S. S. 1428,* while Narasā Nāyaka was reigning. Nittūr was in a desolated condition for fourteen years, until S. S. 1442, Vikrama.

Kaifiyat of Malamēdi-Kambhēladinne, L. R. 37, p. 304.

91. IMMADI NARASIMHA AND NARASĀ NĀYAKA.

During the reign of Sāluva (Immadī) Narasimhadēva Mahārāya, the lord of the throne of Vidyānagara, this village (Rāmēśvaram) was given as *nāyankara* to a certain Rampa Kannama Nāyaka by Narasā Nāyaningāru, the king's agent. Rāmēśvara, together with the village of Proddutūru was in his possession for some time. While this Sāluva (Immadī) Narasimharāya was reigning, Narasā Nāyaka, who was governing the kingdom, was dismissed from his office, and Nādiṇḍla Timmarasayya (a Brahman) of the Āruvēla (Niyōgi) caste, was appointed minister (*pradhāni*) in his place. An inscription dated S. S. 1420, Kālayukti, Mārgaśira ba. 30 found in the *ranga-maṇṭapa* of the temple of Rāmayadēva at Rēmēśvaram shows that Rāmēśvaram and Proddutūru were given to Rampa Kannama Nāyaka for *nāyankara* while Narasā Nāyaka was the head of the government.

When Nādiṇḍla Timmarasayya assumed the management of the affairs of state, he bestowed Rāmēśvaram on Sāluva Gōvindarāja, a son of Rācīrāja as *nāyankara*; and the latter granted the village to the God Rāmalinga for the maintenance of the daily worship. This gift is recorded in an inscription on a slab set up in the *maṇṭapa* opposite the *gopura* of the temple dated S. S. 1430, Prabhava, Kārttika śu. 15.

Kaifiyat of Duvvūr, L. R. 18, pp. 38-40.

92. IMMADI NARASIMHA AND TIMMARASAYYA.

Then Sāluva (Immadī) Narasingarāya dispensed with the services of Narasā Nāyaka and appointed Sāluva Timmarasayya as his deputy. While this Timmarasayya was carrying on the administration of the state, a deputation

* This date is too late for Narasā Nāyaka.

of the *sthānikās* of the temple of Rāmēśvaram waited upon him and explained that though the village of Rāmēśvaram belonged to the temple from ancient times, Rampa Kannama Nāyaka who obtained Prodduṭūru and Rāmēśvaram as *umbali*, appropriated the income of the whole village excepting the produce of four *puṭṭis* of land with which the *sthānikās* were expected to carry on the worship in the temple. 'Now that you, a Brahman officer having faith in Gods and Brahmans, have come to power, you should devote your attention to the affairs of Gods and restore this village to the temple so that the daily worship might be carried on (as in former days).' Timmarasa believed in the truth of the statement of the *sthānikās*; but as the village was under the jurisdiction of the government (*divāṇam*), he thought that it was not proper for him to bestow it upon the God. He therefore gave that village as *nāyankara* to Sāluva Gōvindarāja, son of Rācirāja of Kaundinya *gōtra*, in the presence of Vira Narasimhadēvarāya. Then he told Gōvindarāja, "This village was formerly enjoyed by the God Mukti-Rāmēśvara. You have now obtained the fruits of that charity." Gōvindarāja, having understood the meaning of Timmarasa, bestowed that village, with libations of water, on God Rāmayadēva; and this gift is registered in an epigraph in the temple dated S. S. 1430, Prabhava, Kārttika śu. 12.

Kaifiyat of Prodduṭūru, L. R. 3, p. 5.

93. PRATĀPARUDRA GAJAPATI.

15. His (Puruṣottama's) son was Rudrādhipa, a celebrated king.

16. After his father he ruled the ancestral kingdom under the name Pratāparudra.

* * *

19. On his expedition for the conquest of the South he reached the Kṛṣṇā and then wanted to make a gift of land to the Brahmans.

20. In Śaka 1422, Raudri, in the month of Kārttika, on a Thursday, when there was a lunar eclipse, he gave away to Brahmans the fertile village of Ātumūdi on the western bank of the Kṛṣṇā.

*Anantavarām Copper-Plates, Andhra Patrika,
Ugādi Sañcīka, 1928-9, pp. 175-6.*

94. PRATĀPARUDRA GAJAPATI.

SUMMARY.

Then Pratāparudra came to the throne. In his 3rd regnal year he constructed a temple to God Dhavalēśvara. He constructed a temple for the Goddess Girijā (Skt. Carcikā in the town of Jājipura.) In the 10th year he set out for the conquest of the South and proceeded as far as Sētu; and having subdued Vidyānagara he ruled over the kingdom as the sole monarch. In his 13th regnal year there was severe famine, when a *bhāraṇam* (of paddy) sold at 120 *kānāla-gavvalu* (Skt. *kārṣapaya*). Burglers broke into the palace and carried away much wealth..... Then came Caitanyaśvāmi from Nadia in the Gauda country. The king paid his respects to the Śvāmi, and then proceeded to the South. At this time in the 7th (17th?) year of the reign, the Mlēchas of the name of Mughals came and laid siege to Kāṭaka. Ananta Sāmantarāya, the governor of the city, unable to offer effective resistance, withdrew to the fort of Sāraṅga-gada; the four images of Jagannātha were placed in a boat and sent to the Cajāyiguha hill in the middle of the Cilaka lake. Asurāsura-Sthānu, the chief of the Mughals, entered the Puruṣottama-kṣētra, and broke to pieces the images which he found there. The king, who was in the South on an expedition of conquest, having heard of the advent of the Mughals, hastened to the capital, and chased the Yavanas (Muhammadans) as far as the Ganges.

Then, in the 20th year, the king marched to conquer Mahendra-Kāṭaka, the ruler of which offered stubborn resistance, and caused much loss to the royal army. The king at last made peace with him and returned to Kāṭaka. In the 921

year on Kārttika śu. 4, he breathed his last in the presence of God Dhavalēśvara. The king ruled for 28 years. He died in the Śaka year reckoned by *Vēdēśumanavāḥ* (1454).

Kaṭakarāja Vaṁśāvalī, (India Office Ms.) Aufrecht cc. i. p. 77 ;
Kaifiyat of Jagannātham, Mac. Ms., 15-6-48,
Skt. f. 15-a—16-a, *Tel. f. 20-a—21-a*.

95. VĪRA NARASINGARĀYA'S DYNASTY.

King Yadu was born in the glorious Candra-vaṁśa. In it were also born many kings, and many dynasties of kings. In the Tuluva-vaṁśa, which was one among them, was born one Timmarāya who was full of prowess and attained great fame. To him was born a king (Īśvara) by a chief queen Bukkamāsāni by name. To him was born a king, Narasingarāya by name, possessed of such qualities as modesty, severity and valour.

Narasingarāya's Coronation :—Crowned on the throne set with nine gems at Vidyānagari, Narasingarāya was protecting the Telugu country along with his minister Uddanda. Since the *pālaiyagārs* and *daṇḍanāyakas* of the Karnāṭaka country did not pay tribute, minister Uddanda under orders from the king advanced against the Karnāṭa country with the fourfold army, made war on them, captured Jīvagrāya himself, reinstated him in that country and took tribute from that *pālaiyagār*. He then made great war with Vijaya Rāja in Malayāla and Kērala, conquered him, took much wealth from him, made friends with the Pāndya Rāja and gained large forces from him and took tribute from the Cōla and Drāvida countries. From there he went to the northern countries as far as Kaliṅga and Bengal, conquered those rulers who gave battle with (their) huge armies, killed Gajapati Rāja, conquered the king of the banks of the Ganges who opposed him with an army, won victories against many Muhammadians, took much wealth including elephants and horses, returned to Vijayanagari-pattana, met king Narasingarāya and reported to him on all matters. Then Narasingarāya, who was mighty

pleased, conferred on the minister the title of Vijaya Uddan-dēndra, and with the wealth he brought, constructed many temples, renovated the temple of Virūpākṣadēva, made the sixteen great *dānas* (gifts) such as *bhūdāna*, *gōdāna* and *kānyādāna*, and attained great fame in the world. Then all kings called Narasingarāya Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Rāya, and Mahārāja, and met him with presents. The Mahārāja then felt glad, gave them presents like clothes and ornaments, and attained great fame which spread from the Himālayas to Sētu. The wives of that Mahārāja were Tippākṣi and Nāgalādēvi. To them were born two sons Vīra Narasinga and Kṛṣṇarāya as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were born to the queens Kausalyā and Sumitrā. To Vobāmbikā were born two sons Raṅgarāya and Acyutarāya like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. These four grew up in great friendship learning many sciences and practising elephant and horse riding. Then in Śaka 1401, Śārvari Narasingamārāyar attained heaven.

Kōṇērīrājākālin Caritram: Madras Govt. Or MSS. Lib. 16-6-9, ff. 74 f.

95 (a). KÖNÉRIRÄJA AND SRIRANGA.

Formerly Tiruccirāppalli sīma and other parts passed into the hands of Tirumalairāja in the year Khara; afterwards Kōnērīrāja became the *karita* of this area, and as he was camping in Tiruccirāppalli, he rendered help to the people of Ānaikkāval, and enabled them to enjoy sport by scattering turmeric-powder, and to fix the boundaries of the Tirumalai garden (*sōla*); he also handed over the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* lands as *kuttāgai* to the *sāmantas* of the fort including Cenrappa-nāyakkar; and in Kōyil (Śrīraṅgam, Ranganātha shrine) he collected many taxes in gold such as *pura-vari*, *kāṇikkai*, *paṭṭu* and *parivattam*, and oppressed the shrine in various ways; then two jīvārs and ēkāṅgis got upon the eastern *gōpura* of the sacred street of Akalaṅkan and perished (by casting themselves down from there); yet the oppression continued, and Kandādai Kāṇanāya often reported these occurrences to Narasā Nāyaka. Under the pretext of attending to some state affairs in the South,

Narasā Nāyaka came with a large army, did away with Kōnēri-rāja and (occupied) the area including Tiruccirāppalli. In the next year, Naḷa, in the month of Aippasi, on the fourteenth day, Nāgama Nāyaka and Kumāra Narasā Nāyaka came to worship the *perumāl* (deity), and Kandādai Rāmānuja helped them to do so, and obtained an order from Narasā Nāyaka to resume for the sacred treasury the *tiruvidaiyāṭṭam* and other lands enjoyed by others in usufructory mortgage (*otī*), and thus released the *tiruvidaiyāṭṭam*; he also got these lands exempted as *sarvamānyam* from *vetṭi-vari* and *pura-vari* including what was due to the *talaiyāri* of the nāḍu; he caused money to be remitted to the temple treasury for making jewels to the deity viz., *kanṭhamālai*, *padakkam*, etc., made of pearls and precious stones, and the purchase of *aruvāṇam*, chauries, and several kinds of silks, and got these entered in the treasury; he obtained, as Narasā Nāyaka's gift, provision for one hundred servants of the temple on the average to pound and clean the paddy for the offerings in the sacred temple; and he commanded Mādhava Aiyangār to see that the daily routine of worship, offerings and so on to the deity was carried out without any shortage.....

Kōyiloğugu, pp. 144-5.

96. VĪRA NARASIMHA.

Daily routine :—Vīra Narasimharāya usually got up from his bed in Vijayanagara in the *Brāhma-muhūrta** and listened to the reading of books† both on religion and politics. Then he looked at the reflection of his own image in the mirror, and touched un-married girls and a black cow. He also looked at the face of the Brahmans, and having performed his ablutions, put on the caste-mark. Then he sat in the audience hall, when the *tīrtha* and the *prasāda* of 108 Tirupatis, the sacred sandal paste, and *prasāda* of the 72 (Śiva) temples were offered to him; he advanced forward a little and received them in his hands with great respect. Having placed them upon his head, he commanded the *Aiyangārs* and the *Ārādhyas* who came to the

*The time between 4-30 a.m. and 6 a.m. is known as *Brāhma-muhūrta*.

†The text contains a long list of books of little literary merit.

court to be seated in places befitting their respective positions. He asked the *Aiyangārs* whether the temples dedicated to the eight natural images at Śrīraṅgam, Śrīmuṣṇam, Venkataśalam, Śāligrāmam, Tōtādri, Naimisāranyam, Puṣkarakṣētram, and (Badarikāśramam)* are well-protected. They replied, "On account of Your Majesty's power, the officials (*mudrakarta*) of all the temples are conducting the worship without any deficiency; and the daily festivals are being celebrated properly in all 108 Tirupatis." Then the *Ārādhya*s said that the 72 Saiva temples including those dedicated to the *liṅgas* of earth, water, light, air and *ākāśa*, viz., Ekāmraṇātha, Jambuṇātha, Aruṇācalēśvara, Kālahastiśvara, Cidambarēśvara, as well as those of the 18 *śaktis*, received their proper allowances; and that the daily festivals were being celebrated regularly. The king who was greatly pleased to hear this report presented to them *pattiṣṭ* giving thereby the signal for their departure. He then sent for Dharmāsanam Dharmayya, who immediately came to his presence, and said: "According to the commands of Your Majesty, the *agrahāras* in the Āndhra and Hoysana countries, in Morasunād, Melnād, Karnātaka, Ghāṭasīma, Cēra, Cōra, Pāṇḍya, Magadha, and Malayāla are flourishing without any interruption. The Brahmans who dwell therein are living in happiness performing their daily rites; they are learned in the four *Vēdas* and the six *śāstras*; they perform the five sacrifices, and feed sumptuously the guests who visit them." The Rāya favoured him with his attention.

The king next summoned the *dalānāyakas* (commanders) to his presence. They came, and having stood before him, submitted respectfully: "Protected by the great power of Your Majesty, the arrangements for watch and ward (are quite efficient) and the walls and gates (of forts) in all *giri-durgas*, *sthala-durgas*, *jala-durgas*, and *vana-durgas* belonging to the kingdom are well guarded; moreover, there is scarcely any trouble from the feudal chiefs." Then came Jāngamayya, the *treasurer*.

*Only seven are mentioned in the text; Badarikāśramam is left out.

†Packets made up of betel leaves, and areca-nut pairings etc.

the city. At first he prostrated before the royal throne ; then he stood up with folded arms, and addressing the *daļanāyakas*, said : " The *talāris* are always actively vigilant in watching Vidyānagara and its outer suburbs day and night. Therefore, the people of the eighteen castes (who inhabit the city) are enjoying happiness and great prosperity." The *daļanāyakas* communicated this information to the Rāya.

(Some messengers who entered the hall) said that the flag-hoisting festival had been celebrated in the temples of Vitthala and Virūpākṣa ; and that His Majesty might be pleased to witness the car festival. The *daļanāyakas* who were near (the king) replied that His Majesty would accordingly be pleased to visit the shrines, and that they should inform him as soon as the idols were installed in their respective cars. The Rāya next summoned to the palace the nine *sampratis* who came and explained to him the account of the eighteen ports (of the kingdom). Then he listened to (his officers) who read to him the letters and other despatches that came from different places. When that was over, he summoned his ministers and *daļavāy*, and took counsel with them privately for some time. He came to the audience hall next and having summoned all the courtiers, he held a durbar attended by the seventy-two *niyōgas*, his sons and sons-in-law*, officers, chiefs, lords, *pālaiyagārs*, *amaranāyakas*, well-wishers, dependents, learned-men, *purōhits*, *ācāryas*, *niyāngars*, ascetics, astrologers, physicians, cavaliers, *mahuts*, police officers, tributary chiefs, *vandis*, *vaitūlikas*, singers, *paṭhāṇikas*, scientists, playwrights, rhetoricians, artists, and *vainikas*. The Rāya spent the time conversing with astrologers, grammarians, and *daļanāyakas* about the happenings of the past, the present and the future.

Rāyavatikanam 1925

97. VIRA NARASIMHA AND UMMATTUR

The *pāṭṭabhiṣēka* or the coronation of Mahārajadhirāja Vira Narasingarāya was performed while seated on the Jewelled-

* The terms sons and sons-in-law must not be understood literally. They represent two classes of the royal servants who were admitted into the service when the Rāya desired to honour them.

throne, in the city of Vijayanagara in the year Śārvati corresponding to Śaka 1401.* Vīra Narasingarāya governed the kingdom with great justice, assisted by his brothers. He sent messengers to the rulers of all the dependencies to demand the tribute which they had been paying during the time of his father, Narasinga Mahārāja. The kings of Drāvida, Cōla, and Pāṇḍya countries acquired the good-will of Vīra Narasingarāya by paying the (tribute) money to his messengers. The pālaiyagārs of Ummattūr and Talakkāḍ who ruled over Karnāṭa and Konkanā† refused to send any tribute. Vīra Narasinga became indignant, and (in order to punish them), he collected a large force, and leaving his brother, Kṛṣṇarāya, in charge of (the capital) Vijayanagara, he marched (towards Ummattūr), accompanied by Acyutarāya, Śrīraṅgarāya, and several other princes. Having pitched his tents near Ummattūr, he sent (the following message) to the pālaiyagār: "If you send us away by paying the tribute which you had been paying to us formerly, we shall leave the place confirming your right to rule it. Otherwise, we will capture your forts, and appoint our own officers to hold them."

Then, Tyaparāja (Dēvappa Rāja) the chief of Ummattūr, sent the following reply: "We have been ruling this country from time immemorial. Our ancestors, as well as the Konkanī-varma kings, ruled this country for a long time. Neither of them paid tribute to any other king. Narasingarāya, your father, having conquered us by force of arms, exacted tribute from us. If you consider the legal aspect of the question, we are under no obligation to pay you tribute. Therefore, we will not send you any tribute."

On receiving this reply, Vīra Narasingarāya was enraged; he said: "These pālaiyagārs had been paying tribute to Harihararāya and others who ruled our kingdom before us. Now, what reason have they to refuse payment to us?" Then, he laid siege to the fort of Ummattūr, and invested it for three

*The date is wrong.

†By Konkan, Konkan is to be understood in this context.

months ; but the *pālaiyagār*, who gathered a strong army, did not allow the besiegers even to approach the fort. As he could not capture the fort, Narasingarāya broke up his camp, marched to Śrīraṅgapatṭana and laid siege to that fort. This place was in the possession of Jīvagrāhya, whom the elder Narasingarāya had appointed as its governor. Jīvagrāhya's son, who succeeded his father as the governor, occupied the fort with his troops, strengthened its defences ; then he sent messengers to the *pālaiyagārs* of Ummattūr and Talakkād begging them to send him help. When the contingents which they despatched arrived at the place, he sallied out of the fort, and attacked Vīra Narasingarāya's army. Having been defeated in the encounter, Vīra Nārasingarāya could do nothing but to retreat to Vidyānagara. He told Kṛṣṇarāya that (he could not take) the forts of Ummattūr and Śrīraṅgapatṭana as they were very strong. With the object of renewing his attack, he was engaged in gathering large forces and considerable ammunition during the rest of his reign.

Konkanadīśvarājula-vṛtiāntamu, L. R. 11, pp. 614-7.

97 (a). VĪRANARASINGARĀYA'S CORONATION.

In Śaka 1401 Mahārājādhīrāja Vīra Narasingarāyar was crowned at Vijayanagaripatṭana on the throne set with nine gems. While Vīra Narasinga Mahārāja was protecting the kingdom with justice along with his brothers, he sent men to those countries which paid tribute during the days of his father Narasinga Mahārāyar and asked for their tribute. The Drāvida, Cōla, and Pāṇḍya countries sent some money, and made friends with Vīra Narasingarāya. Since the *pālaiyagārs* who were in the forts like Ummattūr and Talaikkād protecting the Karnāṭaka and Koṅgu countries did not send tribute, Vīra Narasingarāya got very angry, assembled a large army besides elephants and horses, placed his brother Kṛṣṇarāya at Vijayanagaripatṭana, encamped near Ummattūr along with Aeyutarāya and Śrīrangarāya besides many (other) princes, and sent men to (the ruler of Ummattūr) to inform

him that if he paid the tribute which he was paying previously, he would return after confirming him in his position to rule the kingdom, but if he did not pay tribute he would capture his forts, and appoint his own men and rule the kingdom. Then Tiyāpan, Rāja of Ummattūr, sent word as follows: "We were protecting this kingdom in this country for a long time. Neither the members of our dynasty nor the Kongana Varma Rājas who were ruling in these countries for a long time paid tribute to any king. While such was the case, your father Narasingarāya conquered us by his might and took tribute from us. Legally there is no justice in our paying tribute (to you). Hence we will not send tribute". He sent word thus. Then, on hearing the news, Vira Narasingarāya got angry, and asking what justification there was for the *pālaiyagārs* to raise then so many objections since they were paying tribute in the days of Harihararāya and other crowned kings of this kingdom, laid siege to the fort of Ummattūr and fought for three months. The *pālaiyagārs* gathered a large army and prevented them from coming near the fort. Being unable to take the fort Narasingarāya retreated with his army to Śrīrangapattanam and besieged the place. The son of Śivagrāya (Jivagrāhya) who was formerly crowned by Periya Narasingarāyar, reinforced the fort of Śrīrangapattanam with large forces, sent word to and got a big army from the *pālaiyagārs* of Ummattūr and Talaikkādu, came out of the fort, fell on the army of Vira Narasingarāyar and fought. Then Vira Narasingarāya sustained a defeat, retreated with his army to Vidyāngara; he consulted with his brother Kṛṣṇarāya and concluded that since Ummattūr and Śrīrangapattanam were strongly garrisoned, the country must be taken with strong forces and much provision. But nothing was done about this in this reign. Then Vira Narasingarāya performed many works of charity, made many gifts like *tulādānam*, *mahāpuruṣādānam*, *spṛṣṭamērudānam*, *aśvadānam*, *gajadānam*, *gōdānam*, *bhūdānam*, *kannikādānam*, *brahma-pratiṣṭhādānam*, built many feeding houses, attained fame in the world like Parasurāma for *āśvādānam*, received titles such as Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara

Praudhapratāpa Mahārāya, and reached Vaikunṭha in Śaka 1425, Rudhirōdgāri. Then took place his younger brother Kṛṣṇarāya's coronation.

Koṅgudēśarājākkaṭin Cariiram, 16-6-9, ff. 79 f.

98. BUKKARĀJU RĀMARĀJU.

To this Bukkarāja was born Peda Rāmappaya who ruled with great splendour at Kandanūr.

Karṇāṭarājya-vṛtiāntamu, *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, x. pp. 194-5.

99. BUKKARĀJU RĀMARĀJA'S DATE.

SUMMARY.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmāyadēva Mahārāja, the son of *Mannepuli* Bukkarāju, made a grant of some land to a certain Namala Paṇḍuga on Monday* Mārgasira ba. 11 Ś. S. 1420 Kālayukti, during the reign of Sāluva Immadi Narasimha Mahārāya, while Narasā Nayaka Vodeya was governing the kingdom as his deputy. The gift was made so that Immadi Narasarāya, Narasā Nayaka, and the donor's father *Mannepuli* Bukkarāju might obtain religious merit.

Kaiṣiyat of Yanamalacintala, L. R. 4, pp. 433-4.

100. THE INVASION OF SAVĀYI BIBBĪ.

At that time Savāyi Bibbī, a subordinate of the Bamani Pādshāh who was ruling at Kaluburigi, was at Kandanavōlu.

There was a chief of the Lunar dynasty called Bukkarāju at Āravīdu, a village which stood on the banks of the river Cittavatī, at a distance of thirty miles to the west of Gandikōta. He married two wives, Abbaladēvī and Balladēvī. The latter gave birth to a son called Rāmarāja who rose to be the commander-in-chief of the armies of the kings of Vijayapura.

* The date corresponds to Dec. 12 A.D. 1498. According to the *Āravīdu* Mārgasira ba. 11 falls on a Monday; but in the Ephemeris, it is said to fall on a Sunday.

+ The situation of Āravīdu, as described in the *Kaiṣiyat*, does not seem to be quite accurate. There are two villages called Āravīdu and Āravīkōta in the Rayala Simha taluk, the former is included in the Rayachoti taluk of the Gadipet district, and the latter in the Cumbum taluk of the Kurpool district. The early history of Āravīdu chief, embodied in their family chronicles associates them with the Kurpool district.

With the object of capturing Kandanavōlu, he marched at the head of seventy-thousand horse and laid siege to the fort. He expelled Savāyi Bibbī from the place and drove him south. Having established himself at Kandanavōlu, he built a fort on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā. He also captured the fort of Ādavāni. He obtained (the town of) Kandanavōlu and some other villages in the district as *umbali* so that he became known as Rāmarāja of Kandanavōlu.

Kaiṣiyat of Kandanavōlu, L. R. 16, pp. 418-9.

101. RĀMARĀJA'S VICTORIES.

SUMMARY.

Rāma, the son of Bukkarāja of Aravīdu, put to flight Savāyi Bibbī who came at the head of seventy-thousand horse, and laid siege to Kandanavōlu with the object of taking the fort (1). He also deprived Kāca, the chief of Ādavāni, of his royalty (2). He had a son called Timma by his wife Takkamadēvi (3).

Padya-Bālabbhāgavatam, Mac. MSS. 14-4-6, p. 130.

102. SAMBETA GURAVARĀJA.

SUMMARY.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Sambeta Guravarāja became the ruler of Macupalle and the neighbouring villages during the reign of Virapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya, son of Vīra Bukka.* He recognized the strategic importance of a place between two hills called the Guṇḍlakatṭa and the Bandlammakonda and the river Pinākini, and built a fortress there. At a distance of about three miles from the fort, he built a redoubt on the top of a rock overhanging a gorge through which flows the Pinākini, and posted a band of soldiers to patrol it. To the west of the fort he built another redoubt at the head of the Bandi Kanuma and posted men to guard it. He ruled his estate from this fort for such a long time that he became generally known as 'grandfather Guravarāja'.

* This is the name of Vijaya, the father of Dēvarāya II. (See 255 of 1905)

Although people narrate many stories about his rule, no epigraphical evidence has yet been found in support of them.*

Guravarāja was a tyrant, and he was extremely cruel in inflicting inhuman punishments over the unhappy ryots. If the people did not submit to his exactions, he would drag out their womenfolk and torture them. At that time, a troupe of Brahman dramatic performers from Kūcipūdi, a village somewhere in the neighbourhood of Vinukonda and Bellamkonda, visited Mācupalle, when they discovered the extremely oppressive character of Guravarāja's government. In the course of their peregrinations, they reached Vidyānagara, and requested Vīra Narasimharāya, who was then reigning, to grant them permission to enact a play under his patronage. As the fame of the Kūcipūdi players as skilful actors was very well established, the Rāya commanded that they should perform in front of the royal palace, so that the ladies of his zenana might have an opportunity of witnessing the performance. The actors improvised, in the course of their performance, a scene representing a seated nobleman, at whose instance two servants tortured a woman to extort from her a sum of money, which their master demanded.

The Rāya who witnessed this scene asked his courtiers present on the occasion what it was all about. On enquiry they discovered that the scene represented the manner in which Sambēta Guravarāja exacted money from the people of the Siddhavatāsimā, and that it was enacted in order to bring to the notice of His Majesty the oppressive character of the nobleman's rule. The Rāya became indignant at the conduct of Guravarāja, and commanded his courtiers to remind him of the incident later.

Next morning when the Rāya sat in the audience, his officers reminded him about the affair of Sambēta Guravarāja. The Rāya, thereupon, summoned the commanders of his army, and ordered that they should prepare the army for an

*There is an inscription of his son Nalagamparāja.

expedition. When the preparations were completed, he appointed a Muhammadan officer Ismaïl Khān, by name, who acquired the privilege of being called the Rāya's son. The sardar on receiving the *tāmbūla* of appointment*, solemnly vowed that he would bring the head of Guravarāja, and marched away with his army. He reached the fort, where Guravarāja was residing within a short time, and having easily destroyed the western outpost built at the head of the Bandla Kanuma, he pushed his way to the western wall of the fort where he halted. That night he had batteries erected on the summit of the hill called Gundlakatta and trained the guns on the fort, which was, at the same time, attacked by his troops from below. The besieged defended the place as long as they could, and, at last, when they found that resistance was useless, they surrendered it on condition that they would be allowed to pass unmolested. Guravarāja, who was taken prisoner, was beheaded and his head was carried away (to Vijayangara). The women and children who were in the fort committed suicide.

Kaifiyat of Mācupalle, L. R. 56, pp. 65 ff.

103. VIRA NARASIMHA AND THE PORTUGUESE.

Narasingarāya's Minister :—Mention has already been made that on the very day Almeida arrived at the port of Cannanore, Narasingarāya's minister went on board the vessel and had an interview with him. This is how it happened: On hearing of the greatness of the victory of the Portuguese, the Rāya sent his minister from Ānegundi to Cannanore; the minister submitted that "the Rāya was willing to enter into a treaty with Emanuel, that he proposed to offer the hand of his daughter to Emanuel's son, and that the necklace of brilliants sent be not refused." The Portuguese were immensely pleased to hear this message as also of the fame and glory of the Rāya's kingdom. Therefore the Rāya held the Mussalmans in hatred, and ever kept them in check.

Kerala Pājama, Chapter 29.

* It was customary at Vijayangara to present *tāmbūla* i.e., betel and nuts to persons commissioned specially to do some work by the Rāya as a sign of formal ratification of the appointment.

104. MILITARY POLICY.

The successive defeats at the hands of the Pathans in spite of many (of the Hindus) having fought and died, made the Rāya discover the need for a cavalry here; and towards this end he subdued the Tulu country, and garrisoned the sea ports of Honāvar, Bhaṭṭakkala, Bākanūr, Mangalapuram, etc., with horses imported from abroad. As trainers and troopers he enlisted on handsome salary candidates from anywhere irrespective of caste or creed. The Rāya's men believed that having regard to the affairs at Calicut, the Portuguese help would be an asset to them in the matter of fighting the Mussalmans. To good fighters the Rāya presented beautiful maidens, etc. If any quarrels arose among the warriors, they had to settle them by fighting with swords in the presence of the Rāya. The disputes among the goldsmiths, etc., had also to be settled likewise. Thus a warlike spirit was infused into all. Fear of death was held in contempt, and women would drink poison and die to save their honour. On the death of the king, his wives and maidens, about 700 in all, would perform *sati* on his funeral pyre. Men also would accompany their departed royal master by killing themselves. Thus everybody took delight in military exercises. And to fight against the Mussalmans three or four lakhs of people would gather.

Ibid.

105. THE KINGDOM AND CAPITAL.

The kingdom was divided into five provinces : The Western Tulu country ; East of the Ghāts, the Dekhan and the Karnātaka ; along the East coast, the Telugu country and Cōlamandalam. The king's capital Vijayanagara was on the Tungabhadrā. On the opposite bank was Anegundi. There were some famous temples also : Virūpākṣesvara, Mallikājunam and the five hills beginning with Kiskinda. Also the royal residences are seen well.

The daily income from the city was 12,000 *panchās*. The sheds made of granite accommodated 400 elephants, and the royal stables had 40,000 horses in them ranging in price from 100 to 900 *nāgas*.

106. THE PUTTĀSTI* OF ĀLĀMKONDA,

A description of the Puttāsti of Ālāmkonda in the year of Raktāksi during the administration of Gavurappa Nāyadū in the reign of Vira Narasimharāya :—

I. (a) *Dry land* :—At the rate of *ga* 20 (*varāhas*) for a *visapadi kh* $\frac{1}{2}$ (*putti*) which each contractor (had taken) on an average, for *kh* 9 of fields which 18 contractors had rented, (the amount is) *ga* 360.†

Fixed rent (?) fields (*kaṭṭu-gutta polam*) (which are under) Kōnāla Muddayya and 15 others. The *kh* $2\frac{1}{4}$ land under fixed-rent tenants (yields) a rent of *ga* $36\frac{1}{2}$.

The two kinds of dry-land together (yield) a rent of *ga* $396\frac{1}{2}$.

(b) *Nirārambam* (Lands depending for cultivation on artificial irrigation) :—

i.	(The annual income from) Sugar-cane, betel leaf and vegetable gardens is...	<i>ga</i> 60
ii.	The paddy from Cintalakōna	... <i>kh</i> $25\frac{1}{2}$
	Both the <i>kammatam</i> ‡ and income	... „ $55\frac{1}{2}$

II. *Siddhāyas* (Fixed incomes) :—(a) *Angādi-siddhāyas* (Fixed income from shops) :—

The shops in the name of Gaurappa Nāyadū	...	9
The shops of Balija Settis	...	12
The shops of Rācūti of Kōdamūru	...	6
The shops of Nalla Timma Setti	...	6
The shops of Viri Setti	...	6
 Total number of shops	...	 43§

* The word means '(annual) produce.' See L. 18 of Vijayarāghava's grant to the Dutch—T.B.G. 1939, p. 5.

† 'Go' stands for *gadyāna*, another name for *varāha*; 'kh' stands for *khanduga* or kind of the sowing capacity of 20 *maṇis* of grain; it also stands for *putti* the equivalent of *putti*.

‡ The term *kammatam* means the cultivation which an owner carries on with his own farming stock.

§ The addition is wrong; the total number is only 39.

The shops that had been made tax-free	7
The remaining shops	<u>36*</u>
At the rate of 1 <i>rūka</i> per shop, (the total shop <i>siddhāyam</i>) amounts to... <i>ga</i>	3
The perquisite (<i>vartana</i>) of Gaurappa Nāyadū together with <i>adukōlu</i> † ... „	10 + 4
The <i>durga-birālam</i> (fort tax) ... „	<u>3½</u>
Total shop dues, <i>adukōlu</i> , etc. ... „	<u>53½</u>

(b) *Magga-siddhāyas* (Fixed income on looms):—

The specification of the 370 looms which remain after excluding 41 looms that were given away a *mānya* from (the total number of) 411 looms:—

(i) Looms weaving (? coloured cloth):—	
The looms of Gurivi Setti of the <i>Padmasāle</i> caste	65
The looms of Kunigiri Lingi Setti.	100
The looms weaving red-cloth in Gaurappanāyanipēta	230
The looms of Virayya	16
Total (number of) looms	<u>411</u>
<i>Mānya</i> (tax-free) looms	<u>41</u>
The remaining looms	<u>370</u>

At the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ *rūka* per loom per month, the income is *ga* 15 *rū* 5;

and for one year the cash	<i>ga</i> 185
Gaurappa Nāyadū's perquisite (<i>vartana</i>) ... „	20
The fort tax (<i>durgam virālam</i>) ... „	10
The amount pertaining to <i>kānika</i> ... „	5
The total amount of cash from looms ... „	<u>220</u>

* The correct number is 32.

† The meaning is not known.

‡ This total is not made up correctly.

(ii) Looms weaving white cloth (<i>Veli-Maggālu</i>) :—	30
Looms of the weaver of Koppavaram in Gaurappanāyanipēta	12
Looms in both the places	42
Looms that were made tax-free	10
The remaining looms	32
At the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>rūka</i> per loom per month the money obtained from 32 looms is <i>ga</i> $\frac{2}{3}$, and for one year	ga 8
<i>Aḍukōlu</i>	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Both	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total income from looms is	„ 234 $\frac{1}{2}$
(e) <i>Golla-Kuruba Siddhāyas</i> (fixed income from shepherds) :—	
The <i>pullari</i> * from Bōyani Mōrātanigāru.	ga 50
" " Sōmanna of the Yerra-golla caste.	8
" " Callā Mācannagāru	12
" " Bāla Muddana Bōya	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
" " Bācam Dēva Bōya	40
" " Nilam Dēvannagāru (per year)	12
The total <i>pullari</i> per year	„ 156 $\frac{1}{2}$
The annual income from Gollās and Kurubas and the <i>Cerikondagāndlu</i> ...	10
The annual income from the <i>Cerikondagāndlu</i> at Bogavōlu ?	30
Total	40
The total income from Gollās and Kurubas	196 $\frac{1}{2}$

* A tax paid by shepherds etc., on cattle for grazing in the pastures.

* A tax paid by shepherds etc., on cattle for grazing.
† The correct total is *ga* 144½; probably an item has been left out by oversight
the scribe.

[†] The meaning is not intelligible. If it is, however, identical with *ceruvakund*, it denotes watchmen.

(d) *Jāti-siddhāyas* (fixed income from castes):—

From Cennugādu, the washerman,	per year	ga	6½
From Rangadāsari, the <i>bēgāri</i> *, per year.	„	17½	
From the shoe-maker- <i>jarapagars</i> (?)	per year	„	20
The total income from <i>Jāti-siddhāyas</i>			
per year	„	44	
The total cash from <i>siddhāyas</i> per year.	„	582½†	

III. *Maṇiham-paikālu*‡:—

Rent of (betel) leaves : from Tāndrapāti			
Linga Setti	per year	ga	250
The duty (<i>sūkam</i>) on (leaves) with			
stems, from Paramana Nāgi Setti			
of Siravolla per year	„	650	
The duty on oil mills, from Gāndla			
Timmi Setti	per year	„	300
The duty on money changers, from			
Pānuganti Timmi Setti and Cilam			
Mallayya	per year	„	120
The duties on toddy and arrack, from			
Srīrāma Gaud	per year	„	500
The duty on cotton-cleaners from Sāba-			
rātu Mulkibhāi	per year	„	300
The duty on Indigo from Vōnūri			
Gōvindu	per year	„	50
The total (sum realised) from <i>Maṇiham</i>			
is	„	1,217½	
|| Both <i>Maṇihas</i>	per year	„	2,428

* *Bēgāri* means forced labour. What exactly is its sense in this context is not quite clear. It is perhaps identical with *peśi* which also means forced labour.

† The total is wrongly made up; the correct figures are ga 528.

‡ *Maṇiham-paikālu* means duties payable in cash to the Government on land and industry.

§ These totals are wrong: the figures given for various items add up to a total amount to ga 2,170.

|| This is the literal rendering of the phrase *Maṇiham-paikālu*, but the account mentions only one section describing *Maṇiham-paikālu*. We have perhaps to include the previous item of revenue *siddhāyas* under *Maṇiham-paikālu*. As the total is wrongly made up, this is not a case of verbal error.

IV. *Indlu* (Houses) :—

For the 10 houses of Cillara Rājaling- ayya's community	... <i>ga</i>	10
For the 30 houses of Pagadāla Tim- mayya Appayya's community	... „	15
With <i>kāṇike</i>	... „	5
For <i>vetti kāṇḍlu</i> *, 150 bulls per 3 <i>sā</i> †		?
The total including <i>siddhāyas</i> , <i>maṇihas</i> , <i>kāṇike</i> and <i>adukōlu</i> (amount) to (cash) <i>ga</i> 2,403½ ‡		
The total <i>suvarṇādāya</i> per year	... <i>ga</i>	2,960
The <i>dhānyādāyam</i>	„ <i>kha</i>	55

V. *The Rāyarekha of villages* :—

For the village of Kūrapādu from Pedda Setti Lingāreddi per year	... <i>ga</i>	120
Gijigānidoddi Golla Timmanagāru per year	... „	100
Peddadoddi Cennāreddi	„ „	130
For the village of Pinnadoddi per year.	„ „	50
Konkalavāri Nērēdi- cerla per year	„ „	130
„ Mukilla per year	„ „	100
„ Mārella per year	„ „	120
„ Brahmādēvunimadu- vūla per year	„ „	100
„ Lakumasāgaram	„ „	200
„ Donturāti per year	„ „	50
„ Munasarāṇḍla per year	„ „	10
„ Lingadoddi per year	„ „	50
The total income from the 12 villages	„ „	1,250

* The exact meaning is not known; probably it means the bulls for the yoke of (carts or ploughs) used for some public purpose without wages.

† No figure indicating income is given against this item.

(The dues) pertaining to the <i>sthala</i> ... <i>ga</i> 2,960	
Both	... ,, 4,210
Grain (paddy)	... <i>kh</i> 55½*
Total	... <i>ga</i> 4,460

The (specification of) *puttāsti* until Krōdhana Vaisākha ba 3 (21st April A.D. 1505 ?), when the fort of Alavakonda was destroyed :—

<i>Rāyarekha</i>	... <i>ga</i> 1,250
Dues pertaining to the <i>sthala</i>	... <i>ga</i> 4,210†
With paddy	... <i>kh</i> 55½
Total	... <i>ga</i> 4,460‡

(This) account which was read aloud in the palace, has been prepared up to the year Dundubhi by the command of Rangapparājayya, who, desiring to grant the fort as an *amaram* to Muddayyasāni, instructed that the account should be prepared according to the old *āyakat* account of the sāma during the administration of Gaurappa Nāyadu in the reign of Vira Narasimharāya. Cennamarāju Varadayya, and Candiraju Vobalayya read this. The specification of *puttāsti* up to the year Dundubhi is *ga* 41,280. For the 43 villages given away to the Gods and Brahmans, the account is *ga* 10,140. The balance is *ga* 31,140.

* If the difference between *ga* 4,460 and 4,210 represents the cost of 55 *panas* of paddy, then the price per *pani* is a little over *ga* 4.

107. ĀRAVĪDU RĀMARĀJA'S CHILDREN.

SUMMARY.

Rāmarāja married four wives, Aubhalāmbikā, Lakkama, Rangamma and Amalamāmbā. Of these Lakkamāmbā gave birth to three sons, Timma, Konda and Śrīranga. The eldest of them Timma became famous among kings as Rāmarāju Timmayya.

Deipada-Bālabhāgavatam, Mac. MSS. 13-2-19, p. 286.

108. RĀMARĀJU TIMMA.

SUMMARY.

(1 and 6) Timma, the son of Aravīti Rāma, obtained from Vīra Narasimha, a *gandapendāra*,* for having punished the traitors. He gave eye-sight to a blind man at the command of the God Venkaṭēśvara; and caused water to spring in summer on a rock at Migāmula. He defeated the Savā (the Ādil Khān) in a battle at Mānuva; (2 and 4) and subdued Uddāñdarāya, and the chief of Pāttavāda.

(3) He granted to the Mussalman (chief or king) Muhammad, his life, scattered the army of the Gajapati, whom he put to flight.

(5) He established the chief of Gautavara in his kingdom, and was a lion to the elephant, i.e., the ruler of Pāttavāda.

Padya-Bālabhāgavatam, Mac. MSS. 14-1-34.

109. THE CORONATION OF KRŚNADĒVARĀYA.

Vīra Narasimha† told his *daļanāyakas* that he had become old, and that they should make arrangements for crowning

Kṛṣṇarāya king of the city and the kingdom, so that he might rule the state in his place. He also gave Kṛṣṇarāya his signet-ring at an auspicious moment.

Accordingly the ministers, captains, officials, noblemen and the men of learning who were at the court* gave Kṛṣṇarāya a ceremonial bath at an auspicious moment and seated him upon a golden settle placed on a platform specially erected for the occasion. At their instance, he distributed the 'ten *dānas*,' 'the sixteen *mahā-dānas*,' and performed the *svarṇa-tulā* the *rajata-tulā* and the *mauktika-tulā*.† Moreover, he also performed the *mērus*, made gift of one crore of cows, and established a thousand families. Then the Brahmans chanting the Vēdic *mantras* bathed him at an auspicious moment in the water brought from the four oceans and the sacred rivers such as the Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Gōdāvarī, Narmadā, Sindhu, Kāvēri and Tāmraparnī, while the musicians played on the eighteen kinds of musical instruments. Next, they bathed him also in a shower of gold coins and gems. The moisture was wiped off by means of a newly washed white cloth; and a finely kneaded paste of sandal, musk and aloe-wood was smeared upon his body. He then put on a garment of golden hue, and gave permission to his courtiers to retire to their respective residences.

The Rāya next dined in the company of his sons-in-law, sons‡, relations, friends, and followers, and having washed his

* The *daṇḍyakas* Ayyaparasa, Kondamarasa, Bīcarasa, Yallamarasa, Viramarasa, Appaji, Yellanaḍanṇayaka, Lakṣmaṇaḍanṇayaka, Apparapillai, Mannārupillai, Rāyasaṁ Rāmacandrayya, Bokkasam Bhāskarayya, Avasaram Venkatayya, Triambakayya Lakṣmi-pati, the minister Tipparasa, *Dālāvāyī* Lingarasu, Sāluvi Nārā..., Āravīti Bukkaraju, Sāluva Mēkaraju, the chiefs of the Śripati, Būdhahalli, Nandēla, Awuku and Toragallu families, Rācūri Timmaraju Sangaraju, Pemmasāni Akkappa Nāyuqu, the chief of Velugōdu; and the Kamma and Tuluva nobles; the Pandits of the palace such as Caturvēdi Rāmādīkṣita, Kṛṣṇāvadhānu who could compose verse in eight languages, the astrologer Prabhākara who was a *Sahasrāvadhānu*, poets and all the others.

† *Tulā* means a balance. The king weighed himself against gold, silver and pearls which he distributed among the people.

‡ See the foot-note to the extract No. 96 on p. 79.

hands in scented water, he performed the *ācamana*.* He put on the jingling sandals, and reciting the abridged Rāmāyana, he walked a few steps. Then he seated himself on the carpet, and summoned to his presence the *daļanāyakas*, Appāji and the other ministers.

Rājavācakam, pp. 15-17.

110. KRŚNARĀYA AND SAMBĀTA GURAVARĀJA†

SUMMARY.

Kṛṣṇarāya, having heard of the tyranny of Guravarāja commanded one of his Muhammadan officers, Ismāīl Khān by name, to proceed against him and punish him for his evil deeds. Ismāīl marched against Mācupalle, the headquarters of Guravarāja, and having defeated and slain him in battle, he demolished the fort and confiscated Guravarāja's estate.

This Guravarāja was generally known as *Tāta* (grand-father) Guravarāja, as he lived for a pretty long time. His two sons Nala Kampa and Cina Sangama went to Vijayanagara after their father's death, and petitioned the Rāya requesting him to confer their father's estate upon them. The Rāya complied with their request, and granted them Siddhavatam district. They held this estate during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign, paying him the stipulated tribute regularly.

Cina Sangama's rule in this region is borne out by the evidence of an inscription dated in the cyclic year Pramādi (S. S. 1441 = A.D. 1519-20), recording the gift of three *tūms* of land to a courtesan attached to the shrine of the God Tiruvēngalanātha of Cuddapah, made by his subordinate Gummadūri Vobuladēva Mahārāja.

Kaifiyat of Siddhavatam, L.R. 9, pp. 275-6.

* 'Sipping water three times before religious ceremonies or meals, or after meals, are the necessities of nature, repeating at the same time the 24 principal names of Viṣṇu'—Brown.

† According to the *Kaifiyat of Mācupalle* (L.R. 56, pp. 66 ff.) it was Vira Narasimha that despatched Ismāīl Khān against Guravarāja. Probably the order was given by Vira Narasimha, and it was executed only during the reign of his successor.

111. THE ORIGIN OF THE KELADI CHIEFS.

SUMMARY.

In the country of Karnātaka, there dwelt a farmer Basavapa by name in the village of Palliyabayal, near the city of Keladi, which stands on the northern bank of the Varadā. He had by his wife Basavamāmbā, two sons called Caudapa and Bhadrappa whom he married to two girls of good family. Basavapa, who prospered greatly after the birth of his sons, breathed his last, some time after their marriage.

Caudapa and Bhadrappa who followed the profession of their father became rich, and acquired a name for their bravery ; and the former became the king of Keladi by the grace of god Rāmēśvara of the place.

* * *

One day Caudapa went to one of his paddy fields, in order to supervise the work of his labourers, and becoming tired, he slept under the cool shade of a mango tree. As he did not return to his house in time, his mother came in search of him, and found him asleep at the foot of the tree ; but she was dismayed when she discovered that a cobra was dancing near his head spreading its hood. She did not awaken him at once, but waited until the serpent retired. Then she explained to him the whole incident and pointed out to him the serpent that was slowly retiring, making them signs with its hood to follow it. Caudapa and his mother followed the serpent, until they reached a plot, where at one spot it struck the ground with its hood, and disappeared. They thought that this action of the serpent indicated a treasure buried underneath the ground, and excavated the place with the object of acquiring it. On digging the ground, they discovered a huge vessel filled with money and a sword called Nagaramari which they took possession of. Caudapa erected a house on the spot, and occupied it with all the members of his family. In course of time, a son was born to Caudapa whom he called Sadāśiva. When this boy grew into manhood, he married to him two girls of good family called Viramāmbe and Bhadramāmbe,

112. KRŚNADEVARĀYA AND CAUDAPA.

SUMMARY.

The emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, who heard of the sudden rise of the fortune of the brothers Caudapa and Bhadrapa summoned them to his presence at Vijayanagara.

* * *

He said, 'You are *amśas* of Śiva, born (in this world) on account of some special reason. The Muhammadans, Śabaras, and some petty chiefs having become disobedient and rebellious are causing us petty troubles. Therefore, you must remain with us and help us in all our undertakings.' He persuaded them to remain at his court, where they acquired much influence on account of his favour.

At that time, the Śabaras and some petty chiefs having joined together set up the standard of rebellion in the east, and harassed the kingdom very much. When the news of this rebellion reached the ears of the Rāya, he sent an army under Caudapa and Bhadrapa to put it down. Both the armies met, and in the tumultuous engagement which ensued, the royal troops suffered a defeat. When Caudapa saw the miserable plight of the royal army, he jumped upon his steed and charged the rebels vigorously. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon them and took several of them prisoner. Then he returned triumphantly to Vijayanagara, carrying in his train several prisoners of war, some chained, and others pinioned. He compelled them to make obeisance to the Rāya. Some of the chiefs who made peace with him were then introduced to the king; and others placed valuable presents before the royal throne as a token of their submission. On seeing the rebel chiefs, Kṛṣṇarāya was pleased with Caudapa and Bhadrapa who had subdued them. He bestowed upon them many gifts and sent them home, desiring to employ them in his war with the Muhammadans on some future occasion.

A few days passed uneventfully when the spies brought the information that the Mussalmans contemplated an attack upon the kingdom from the north. Thereupon Kṛṣṇarāya

decided that the defence of the frontier abutting on the Mussalman territory should be entrusted to Caudapa and Bhadrapa. He summoned them to the durbar, and having informed them of the contemplated Muhammadan invasion said : " We invest you with all the powers of the lords of the marches to protect the frontier exposed to Muhammadan attacks stationing yourselves at Candragutti and Keladi. We grant you the eight *māgaṇis* of Keladi, Ikkēri, Perbayal, Elagalale...Modūr, Kelise and Lātavādi, as a *jāgir* which may be held by you and your descendants for ever rendering help to us. Kṛṣṇarāya then granted them a charter and conferred upon them the royal privileges and insignia. He also declared that Caudapa should thenceforward be styled as ' Caudapa of the *Keladi-mūla-sāṁsthāna*.' Then he sent them to their posts with an army consisting of elephants, horses and infantry. The brothers who were greatly pleased by the special honour shown to them departed to Ikkēri where Caudapa formally installed himself as chief on Māgha śu. 3 of the year Siddhārthi corresponding to S. S. 1422.*

Keladinṛpavijayam, Canto 1, pp. 21-6.

113. KRŚNADĒVARĀYA'S CONQUESTS.

Kṛṣṇarāya was crowned king of Vijayanagara on the throne set with nine gems in the month of Caitra in Raktākṣi, Śaka 1426 and protected the kingdom jointly along with his younger brothers Acyutarāya and Rangarāya and his minister. He organised a mint under the name Kṛṣṇamūrti, made an endowment in it for Ranganāyaka, then renovated the Vijayanagara fort, constructed the forts of Penukōṭṭai and Candragiri, gathered a large army besides many elephants and horses, and with a view to acquire dominions went to the Drāvida country, took possession of the forts of Kāñci, Jinji, and Vēlūr, strengthened the fort of Vēlūr, and having placed his men and princes in it, was protecting the kingdom justly.

* This date is equivalent to January 8, A. D. 1500. If Caudapa's installation took place on this date, the Rāya at whose instance he assumed charge of Ikkēri could not have been Kṛṣnadēvarāya.

Then the rulers of Ummattūr among those of the Karnāṭaka country took possession of Śivanasamudra, strengthened the fort since the Kāvērī passes on both sides of it and protected it with fire arms and other weapons. Then that Tyāparāja attained heaven. His son Gangarāja made safe the fort with many weapons and troops. Subsequently, since his elder brother Vīra Narasingarāya returned without success in his attempt to conquer the *pālaiyagārs* and rājas of the Karnāṭaka country after making war with them and acquiring the same, and since they were not paying tribute, Rāya Kṛṣṇarāya got very angry against them, started with elephants, horse, foot soldiers, fire arms and some *pālaiyagārs*, besieged the fort of Śivanasamudra to the east of Paccimaranga (West Ranga) on the banks of the Kāvērī in the Karnāṭaka country, admitted into his fold Cikkarāya who was his (Gangarāya's) enemy and along with some *pālaiyagārs* encamped on the hills Prētaparvata and Gevuruyana, and blockaded for over a year all passage to the fort by way of the Kāvērī. Gangarāya drowned himself in the depths of the Kāvērī called Gangansucci. Then Kṛṣṇarāya took possession of that fort, placed his men in charge of it, returned to Śrīrangapattanam, conquered it, left some parts under the charge of Kampa Gauda and Virappa Gauda, and some under the charge of Cikkarāya, conquered the *pālaiyappattus* of those parts, appointed his men there, fixed one crore as the tribute from the Karnāṭaka country, entered the same in his accounts, strengthened Śrīrangapattana as the important city in the Karnāṭaka country in Śaka 1(4?)34 and in that year he hoisted a big flag with Kṛṣṇarāya's insignia, śaṅkha and cakra. From there he started and conquered at a stretch Coorg, Malayālam and Kēralam, fixed the tribute (from them), took possession of the Pāṇḍya and Cōla countries, returned to Vijayanagaripattana, started like a second ocean with large armies, many *pālaiyagārs* and horses besides guns and weapons, went to the northern country, made friends with the king of Kalinga and taking him along with himself went in a conquering tour through Hindustan, the Gūrjara and Magadha countries, besides many

others, took tribute from them, conquered many Muhammadans, returned to Vidyānagarapattāna, and being seated on the throne set with nine gems, and having attained great fame from the Himalayas to Sētu as *Yadukulōdbhava*, *Rājā-mārttāṇḍa*, *Rājagambhīra*, and *Mahārājapūjīta Kṛṣṇarāya* Mahārāyar, protected the kingdom along with the commander-in-chief *Sadāśivarāya* and performed many pious acts. He made the sixteen *mahādānas* such as those of *mēru* and *svarṇa* and attained *Vaikunṭha* in Śaka 14(5?)0. Details of the gift of land made to *Paccima Rangasvāmi* by *Arikerāśayyar* of Śrīrangapattānam in Śaka 1429, with the permission of *Kṛṣṇarāja*....

Śrī Kṛṣṇarāyar made an order on the auspicious occasion of the lunar eclipse on the full moon day in the bright half of Māgha in the cyclic year Pārthiva corresponding to Śaka 1445 near the temple of *Virūpākṣa* on the banks of the Tungabhadrā for the worship, offerings and festivals of God Kṛṣṇasvāmi of Udayagiri to *Immaḍi Tātācārya*, son of Tātācārya and grandson of Vēdamūrti Tirumalai Tātācārya, that he may collect from the *Kammas* of the town belonging to thirty-seven *gōtras* at the rate of a *varāhan* a year, as also from people performing marriage at the rate of one *panam* for the girl and one *panam* for the boy.

The duration of the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya (is) 37 years.

Kōngudēśarājākkalīn Caritram, Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Lib. 16-6-9 ff. 84 f.

114(a). CAPTURE OF BIDAR.

N. B.—These two verses were composed by the court poets of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in commemoration of his capture of Bidar. The first is attributed to the poet laureate Allasēṇi Peddana and the other is anonymous.

SUMMARY.

Peddana describes in the first verse the war cries of the fierce Mussalman soldiers of *Bedādakōṭa* (Bidar) who were slain by Kṛṣṇarāya in battle, even on their journey to heaven. The second describes the effects of the sound of Kṛṣṇarāya's drums of victory, which rent the heart of the ladies of *Bedādakōṭa* (by reporting to them the death of their lords in battle); the

gates of the fort of Delhi were strengthened; the fortifications of Makka were increased; new towers were built on the battlements of Maṇḍu; and grain was stored up in forts of Bōlēru and Candēru.

114(b). A DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPTURE OF KALUBARIGA.

The verse gives a graphic account of the hardships of the wives of the *khāns*, *maliks*, and *vaziers*, when Kṛṣṇārāya captured the fort of Kalubariga.

Anonymous.

114(c). A DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPTURE OF KALUBARIGA.

Having pitched 'the *veligudāra*'* on the 12th Tai of the year Prajōtpatti, (Kṛṣṇadēvarāya) marched upon Kutappa Śāha and Nizām Śāha. During the course of a campaign of three years, he fought with the three kingdoms†, and set up a pillar of glory at Kalubariga. He exacted tribute from the lords of the three kingdoms...and returned to Vijayanagara (where he) remained (for some time).

Vijayanagara Sāmrājyamu, Bhārati VI, ii. p. 621.

114(d). THE SIEGE OF KALUBARIGA.

After the lapse of some time having resolved to make war upon Kalyāṇam and Kalubarige, (Kṛṣṇadēvarāya) summoned (to the capital) all the *jāgīrdārs*. In obedience to the royal order, old Cannama Nāyaḍu of Kadavakolanu went to Vijayanagara with all his retainers and presented himself before Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Then as the Rāya marched at the head of his army upon Kalubariga, all [the officers of the Nizām]‡ came thither with large forces, and lay encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort. Summoning all his [nobles and captains] to his presence, the Rāya said: "If you fight in

* *Veligudāra* means outer tent, in which the kings of Vijayanagara were accustomed to camp during the military expeditions.

† The three kingdoms referred to here are those of Gōlkonda, Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar.

‡ *Samasta Nizāmulu*, literally means all the Nizāms.

this battle, with the enemy without turning your back on him, and put him to flight, we will reward you richly." Then he commanded *vīrakāṅkāpas* and *tāmbūla* to be distributed among them. The battle having commenced by this time, several captains including the old Mesā Cannama Nāyadū, the Handes of Sonnalāpuram and other *pālaiyagārs*, uniting (their forces) together, marched upon the enemy.

And as the forces of Kṛṣṇarāya gave way in the sanguinary battle that followed, he raised his arm and shouted : " We bestow on those who charge the enemy and put him to flight, many titles and rewards." Old Cannama Nāyadū with some other captains wheeled round and confronted the Muhammadan army. They charged the forces of the Nizām and others that were pursuing them with such vigour that the front line of the enemy broke in confusion and fled. At the same time, as the rest of the (Rāya's) army rushed upon the forces of Nizām [Shāh] and caused panic, they fled leaving several of their comrades dead upon the battle-field. [Kṛṣṇarāya] then commanded that the triumphant boar standard should be planted on [the battlements of Kalubariga] and that the drum of victory should be sounded.

Then [the Rāya] causing all his wounded officers to be brought to his presence, enquired into their condition, and [ordered the surgeons] to dress their wounds. On making enquiries about the condition of old Cannama Nāyadū, he was told that [the old warrior] was lying seriously wounded in some other part [of the battle-field]. Kṛṣṇarāya went personally in search of [the wounded captain], and causing his wounds to be dressed, had him removed to a tent very near his own, where he carefully tended him until he recovered.

The Rāya having returned to Vijayanagara with all his army, sent all his captains to their respective homes. He gave old Mesā Cannama Nāyadū a palanquin, two chauries, one of his own horses, *kalkiturāyi*, *udās*, *pāvada*, *gaṇḍapendēra*, a flag, and a camel with a drum on its back. Besides, the Rāya

conferred on him the titles of *Aivattāru-māṇḍalikāra-gaṇḍa*, and *Pūrva-simhāsanādhiśvara*. He also granted (to Cannama) the forest extending as far as the village of Kadavakolanu. Cannama having obtained the permission of the Rāya returned to his own village.

Kaifiyat of Nadimidoddiḍipālem, L. R. 39, pp. 11 ff.

115. THE REVOLT AND SUBJUGATION OF THE PĀLAIYAGĀR OF PATTŪRUPĀLEM.

After the death Basivi Nāyadu, his son, Peda Rangappa, and after him, his son Musili Nāyadu, were protecting the villages and the highway. Musili Nāyadu gathered forces with a treasonable intent, and rose up in rebellion during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign; but being unable to resist the royal forces, he fled from his place and took refuge in the Lankamalai hills. Taking advantage of the Rāya's visit to Puṣpagiri, he tendered his submission through Kāmarasu Timmarasayya who interceded with the Rāya on his behalf, and obtained his permission for an interview. During the interview Musili Nāyadu explained to the Rāya that he was obliged to take refuge in the Lankamalais owing to the intrigues of Rangapatirāju, a Kṣatriya chief, who was holding the village of Jillēlla under the Rāya.

The Rāya having viewed his case leniently forgave him his faults. He granted to him as a *jāgīr* the jungle stretching between Puṣpagiri and Pēranipādu, and commanded him to keep watch over the villages and the highway as before. Further, he ordered a certain Malrāju, one of his servants, to accompany Musili Nāyadu, and build at any place he might choose a village for his habitation. In obedience to the command of the Rāya, Malrāju built a village called Pattūrupālem at a place called Bodadinne on the Kāsi-Rāmēśvaram Road and excavated a tank in its neighbourhood which he named after himself.

Kaifiyat of Pattūrupālem, L. R. 9, pp. 250 ff.

116(a). KRŚNARĀYA'S VICTORIES.

SUMMARY.

1. Description of Vidyānagarī; the Tungabhadrā, Matanga hill, Pampā and Viṭṭhala temples mentioned.
2. Narasimha, the son of Iśvara and ornament of the *Turvasu-kula*, ruled the earth with vigour with the city for his capital.
3. His son Kṛṣṇarāya's birth spread great joy all round like that of the moon from the ocean of milk.
4. In his youth he (Kṛṣṇa) quickly overpowered the powerful Ganga-rāja, destroyed his fortress of Sivanasamudra and its site soon became a fit habitation for jackals.
5. He then conquered Udayagiri and its ruler Rāhuttarāya, captured the two towns Kondavīḍu and Kondapalli in war, made the son of the Gajapati a prisoner of war and erected an inscribed pillar of victory at Pottanūr. His valour commanded universal admiration.
6. Kṛṣṇa then conquered the Gajapati and espoused his daughter together with his Śrī (prosperity); subsequently he attacked the Yavana king Sapāda (Savāyi) who was encamped at Gobbūru, put him to flight and captured his elephants, horses and his unequalled fortress Rācūr.
7. This great king crossed the Kṛṣṇā river and consigned to flames the whole of the Yavana country (the territory ruled by Muhammadans), conquered the fortress cities called Firōzābād, Asimbād, and Sagar. Then he attacked Kalubarige which was defended by Sapāda (the 'Adil Khān) and captured there three sons of the Sultān.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa: *Saṅgītasūryyōdayam*, Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Lib., R. No. 4516.

116(b)

SUMMARY.

The first verse alludes to some of Kṛṣṇarāya's victories. It mentions his capture of Udayācala (Udayagiri) and his victories over the chief of Nāvāda, Śakandhara, and the Gajapati; it

states that the country up to the five-Gaudas became, as it were, a maidan where he would go for taking exercise in fencing.*

The second verse refers to his capture of all the cities belonging to the Gajapati in the country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvarī. The third mentions the capture of Kalubariga ; the fourth addresses Kṛṣṇarāya as the bearer of the fortune (Lakṣmī) of the Hindu kingdom, the establisher of the Mussalman king,† and the captor of the women of Kaliṅga; and the fifth describes the conquest of the districts of Kondāvīḍu and Kondapalli.

Allasāni Peddana : *Manuaritra*, 1: 11; 2: 79, 81; 3: 142, 144.

116(c).

A single verse from the pen of an anonymous contemporary writer enumerates briefly the events connected with the Kaliṅga war.

When Kṛṣṇarāya, who was renowned for his skill in war, started on an uninterrupted expedition, Udayagiri lost its greatness by the rising sun of his valour, Vinukonḍa fell to pieces by the terrific noise of his war drums ; Bellamkonḍa (the jaggery hill) melted like lac by the fire of his army ; Kondāvīḍu (the abode of hills) was deprived of its wings by the lightning-strokes of the swords of his troopers ; Bezwada collapsed ; Kondapalle shook ; Kaṭakam broke down ; and Delhi fell into confusion.

116(d).

SUMMARY.

This verse which is attributed to Nandi Timmana, the author of the *Parijātāpaharapam*, describes the manner in

* The chief of Nāvāda remains still unidentified. Śakandhara has been identified by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao (*Lakṣmaṇarāya Vyāṣṭāvalī*, pp. 46-7) with Sikandar Shāh, who sat for a few months in A.D. 1525 on the throne of Gujarat.

† This statement of Peddana is also supported by the inscriptions. It is generally believed that Kṛṣṇarāya assumed this title when he attempted to restore the defunct Bahmany dynasty at the end of his Rāicūr campaign in A. D. 1521. This view is untenable as the title appears in some of his early inscriptions. In an inscription dated A. D. 1514 (*N. D. I. Kr. 27*) Kṛṣṇarāya is styled *Yavanarājya samsiṭhāpanācārya*. Therefore, this title which is peculiar to him must have been assumed by him for setting up some Muhammadan prince upon his throne prior to A. D. 1514.

which the Uriya soldiers, who had been slain by Kṛṣṇarāya in battle, behaved in the *svarga* of Indra.

116(e).

We shall long cherish and meditate upon Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa who has his abode in Vadakūvam (Nāgalāpūr ?) and who by his blessing, enabled Kṛṣṇarāya to set up a triumphal column at Singādri.

Haridāsa: *Irusamayavilakkam*, p. 2, v. 5.

117 KRSNARĀYA'S WARS.

SUMMARY.

Kṛṣṇarāya sent a letter to Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyaḍu, commanding him to join the royal army with his forces in an expedition against the Aśvapati. He was also required to bring with him Kūnapuli Rangapatirāju and his troops. In obedience to the royal summons, Timmā Nāyaḍu repaired to Vijayanagara accompanied by Rangapatirāju. One day while the Rāya was seated in the durbar surrounded by his captains and nobles, the state-elephant which was in rut rushed into the assembly. Rangapati, concealing himself behind one of the pillars of the audience hall, struck the beast with his dagger and forced it to turn back. This act of bravery excited the admiration of Rāya, and he granted to Rangapati the right of enjoying his *jāgīr* without interruption.

Later, Kṛṣṇarāya sent a *nirūpa* to Rangapatirāju commanding him to join him in his war against the Gajapati. Accordingly, Rangapati having joined the royal army with his force took his position in the van, and participated in an engagement with the troops of the Gajapati. On this occasion, summoning him to his presence, the Rāya said that he would reward him amply provided that he fought well in the battle. Then giving him the customary *tāmbūla* to signify that he was specially commissioned to win the victory, the Rāya gave him permission to retire from his presence.

Accordingly, when the order was given for scaling the walls of the fort of Udayagiri on all sides, Rangapati, who was near the northern wall of the fort with his force, scaled it even before the royal army and hoisted the flag of five colours which the Rāya had given him on the terrace of the gate with the bell-metal doors. The Rāya, on seeing the flag, made enquiries about it, and discovered that it was planted by Rangapatirāju. He was immensely delighted, and summoning Rangapati to his presence, complimented him on the display of his bravery and rewarded him adequately. Kṛṣṇarāya captured the fort, and after winning victory over the Gajapati, returned to Vijayanagara where he continued to rule the kingdom from the throne of the Narapatis.

Kaīḍyat of Cintakunṭa, L. R. 7, pp. 321 ff.

118. ABOUT THE KINGDOM OF ORISSA.

SUMMARY.

The Rāya was engaged in a conversation with Appāji and the other ministers. Two spies who had been wandering in the dominions of the Gajapati returned from Cuttack. They told him that after visiting several places in the Gajapati dominions including Rājamahēndravaram and Cuttack, they reached at last Jagannādham (Puruṣōttamam) where the Gajapati Mukunda Bāhubalēndra was staying.* They gave an account of the Gajapati's ablutions and his performance of daily worship to the God Jagannātha, in the presence of the *sthānāpati*s of other kings, viz., Anantōji Pantulu of Aghapura, Mādhavayya of Mānasingu, Cennagirayya of Cānduvāru, Karunākarayya of Kaṭaka, Vōbalayya of Warangal, Dhākōji Pant, the representative of the Sultān of Delhi, Bēkōji Pant of Bedadakōta, Gōpōji Pant of Gōlkonda, Ayyaparāju of Ahmadnagara, Viramarāju of Vijayāpura, Purandarayya of Purāṇapura and

* The contemporary and the enemy of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was not Mukunda Bāhubalēndra Gajapati but Pratāparudra Gajapati. This mistake has been repeated in the *Kṛṣṇārājavijayam*. There was, of course, a Mukunda Bāhubalēndra who ruled over Kalinga; but he was a contemporary of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and he did not ascend the throne of Orissa until A. D. 1559.

Bābōji Pant of Bhāgānagaram.* The Gajapati distributed presents to Brahmans at the conclusion of his daily worship and dismissed them. Next, he proceeded to the dining hall where he dined in the company of his relations. Then he recited the verses of the abridged Rāmāyaṇa, walking up and down in the palace. Having put on his clothes and jewels, he went to the hall of audience, where he held a durbar surrounded by his officials, nobles, and the *sthānāpatis* representing the other courts. While he was engaged in a conversation with the sixteen *Pātrias* and the foreign ambassadors, he received letters from Nilādri Pant (the *sthānāpati* of) the Nizām Śāhu as well as the *sthānāpatis* of Yēdula Śāhu and Kutapana Malaka. They stated explicitly that 'the king of Karnātaka, having gathered the fourfold army for the purpose of waging war, has come out (of his capital) and desires to make his appearance on the frontier. (The Nizām Shāh and the other Muslim chiefs) used to render you assistance in the past, when Your Majesty had to fight against the chiefs of the north and the south. In great emergencies such as the war with the people of Aghapura, all of us would unite together and direct the affairs jointly. There is nothing so serious now, (to necessitate joint action). Surely Your Majesty is on the frontier and nowhere else. As Yēdula Śāhu and Kutapana Malaka are strong in their frontier defences, they need not be anxious. If anything beyond the strength of their frontier defences happens, they are prepared to come as far as Ahamadunagaram.†

* This list of *sthānāpatis* who are alleged to have been present at the court of the Gajapati is not genuine. In the first place, the manner in which the names of the *sthānāpatis* and those of the states or the kings whom they represent rhyme with each other creates a suspicion in the mind that the chronicler had freely drawn upon his imagination in choosing the names of the *sthānāpatis*. Secondly, the author duplicates the names of certain states, (e.g., Gōlkonḍa and Bhāgānagara). Thirdly, he includes in his list a *sthānāpati* of Kaṭaka. Now, Kaṭaka was the capital of the Gajapati. It is incomprehensible why he should have his ambassador at his own court. Lastly, Bhāgānagara which is said to have sent a representative was not then in existence. It was founded about A. D. 1581 by Muhammad Qulī Qūb Shāh in honour of his mistress Bhāgamati. This shows clearly that the *Rājavācakam* must have been written some time after the foundation of Bhāgānagara i.e., after A. D. 1581.

† This cannot be the same as Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Nizām Shāhi kings. According to the *Rājavācakam* and the *Kṛṣṇarāya-viṣayam*, Kṛṣṇarāya attacked a Muhammadan garrison town of the name of Ahamadunagaram in the neighbourhood of Konḍavidū. Probably this refers to the same place.

(The people in the assembly) said by way of counsel: "As far as human effort is concerned, defeat (in battle) must not be thought of. If victory is inevitable to the Karnāṭakas, Your Majesty will lose territory, and be involved in troubles, owing to the defeat of the three kings on the frontier. Therefore, it is necessary to deliberate deeply and take preliminary precautions."

The Gajapati observed: "There is the God Jagannātha to help us in all difficulties." The envoys of the three (Mussalman) states said: "Of course, Your Majesty has Jagannātha, just as our masters have the *Kartar* (God). Our masters are sending all the troops of our three kingdoms to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, where they should lie encamped to prevent the Karnāṭakas from crossing the river. We request Your Majesty to command your officers to strengthen the places on the frontier."

The Gajapati said that he would arrange the frontier defences accordingly and sent forces strong enough to take preliminary precautions to Kondavīdu, Udayagiri, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Kandukūr, and other places. He also commanded the sixteen *Pātrās* to take similar steps in defence of their estates and forts; and in obedience to the royal commands they sent provisions and ammunition to the frontier and the forts.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 69-74.

119. TIMMARASA ON THE CHARACTER OF THE GAJAPATI.

SUMMARY.

Appāji (*i.e.* Sāluva Timmarasa) said: "The Gajapati is not like the Mussalmans; he is a monarch of good repute; he has faith in the gods and Brahmans."

Timmarasa then proceeded to recount the story of the attempted assassination of the Gajapati in order to illustrate the holiness of his character. On one occasion, the Gajapati's enemies wanted to put an end to him by mixing poison in the *tīrtha* from the shrine of Jagannātha which he was accustomed

to drink every day before dinner. Although he discovered that the *tirtha* was poisoned owing to the agitation of the temple priest, he drank it, placing faith in favourite deity Jagannātha. The poison did not produce any evil effect, and was digested like the rest of the food which he consumed.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 81-82.

120. GYMNASTIA AT THE CAPITAL OF THE GAJAPATI.

N.B.—In this section of the *Rāyavācakam* an exaggerated account of the feats of strength exhibited in the gymnasias in the capital of the Gajapati is given.

SUMMARY.

We entered the city, and saw the palace of the Gajapati, the mansions of the sixteen *Pātras*, the Gymnasia and the people who take exercises therein. Even the gods and the demons are not capable of exhibiting such skill in physical exercises as they show. Your Majesty might have observed the skill in physical exercises shown by the great wrestlers of other countries; but the style of the people at the capital of the Gajapati is totally different. They alone are capable of lifting up such heavy dumb-bells. They lift them up, and what is more, they lift them up cross-wise. They raise a sack weighing 10 *paddes* to the height of the uplifted arm of a standing man and throw it upon their own bodies. Moreover, they catch the sack between their thighs, and suspend themselves in the air taking hold of the cross-beam (of the gymnasium). The reason for taking this exercise is this: While engaged in battle, the troopers are accustomed to carry away their opponents bodily imprisoning them between one of their arms and the body; if, however, the opponents fight without losing their hold on their steeds, they abandon their attempt, considering the opponent to be unmanageable. The riders on the armoured horses are not afraid of any wound which they might receive. They attempt to carry away under their arm such riders (?). The soldiers practise this exercise in order to remain firm courageously (in their seats) on such occasions. They completely demolish walls of hundred feet with a *rummi mattekhandam* (?) which is heavy enough to be carried by a

man on his head. They also cut with that sword strong tamarind pillars as easily as they cut the pith of the plantain trees. Planting two crow-bars together on the ground they cut them to pieces with their sword. They bring a basket full of cymbal-discs, and twist four or five of them together. As the blacksmiths are not able to separate them, they place them on the anvil, and detach them (with the aid of the hammer), and bring them again in good condition for the next day's use. Moreover, they break iron clubs at any given point. The wrestlers of the country who go there return with a feeling that it is not possible for them to cope with their methods of taking exercise. The wealth and strength of that place cannot be seen anywhere else.

Rāyavācasakam, pp. 79-80.

121. CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF THE GAJAPATI
BY KRŚNADEVARĀYA.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya left the zenana, and having entered the audience hall, he summoned the great minister Sāluva Timmappa to his presence, and commanded him to make the necessary preparations for starting on an expedition of conquest of the eastern quarter. To discover whether the time was auspicious for launching the expedition, he caused a few grains of rice made yellow with saffron to be sprinkled on the roof of a washerman's house. The washerman sang, out of the fulness of his heart, the following couplet:

“Kondavidu is ours ; and Kondapalle is ours. If anybody disputes (the truth of) my statement, then (I declare that) the country as far as Katakam is also ours.”

When the song of the washerman was communicated to the Rāya, he started at once on his eastern campaign, accompanied by his commander-in-chief and the army. He captured during the course of a single expedition Udayagiri, Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Tangēda, Kētavaram and other forts ; he then advanced upon the fort of Kondavidu in S. S. 1437 and captured it by scaling the walls.

He captured Virabhadra Gajapati, son of Partāparudra Gajapati with all the nobles and commanders alive, and took possession of the fortress, but he gave him an assurance of security. The (following) verse bears out the truth of this statement:

"Formerly Rudra foolishly slew Manmatha, the son of Kṛṣṇa, near a Kondavīḍu (mountain-abode). Is it a manly deed? The celebrated king Narasimha Kṛṣṇarāya mercifully offered protection to Virabhadra, son of Pratāparudra, on the battle-field near Kondavīḍu.*"

Having offered protection in this manner to the officers of the Gajapati, Kṛṣṇarāya subjugated the country as far as Simhācalam. Next he advanced as far as Kaṭakam where he attacked the Gajapati, and forcibly married his daughter. He ceded to the Gajapati the country on the other side of Simhācalam,† and returned to Kondavīḍu the governorship of which he conferred upon Nādendla Gōpamantri, a nephew of Sāluva Timmarasa. Then the Rāya went back to Vidyānagara.

Kṛṣṇarāya ruled from S. S. 1437 to S. S. 1455.‡

Kaifiyat of Kondavīḍu, Mac. MSS. 15-4-40, pp. 18 ff.

122. TIMMARĀJU KONDRAJU, THE GOVERNOR OF KONDAVĪḌU.

SUMMARY.

This passage mentions Pina-Kondrāju, one of the sons of Rāmarāja-Tirumala or Timma, a prominent member of the Āravīḍu family. Pina-Kondrāju, it is said, was the protector of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's kingdom at Kondavīḍu.

Rangapparāju: Sāmbōpākhyānam, 1: 20.

123. KRŚNARĀYA'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GAJAPATI.

He (Kṛṣṇadēvarāya) started on the Śrīrāma-daśami day of the month of Citrai in the year Śrīmukha on this campaign

* The stanza is taken from Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātāpaharayam*.

† This statement is not accurate. Kṛṣṇarāya ceded to the Gajapati all the territory which he conquered to the north of the Kṛṣṇā.

‡ The dates are significant. The reign of Kṛṣṇarāya commenced, according to this *Kaifiyat*, in S. S. 1437, i.e., from the year of his conquest of Kondavīḍu, and Kṛṣṇa died in S. S. 1452, i. e., three years before the date to which the *Kaifiyat* assigns his death.

(at the end of which) he took possession of the Gajapati's daughter Lakṣmīdēvamma and returned to Vijayanagara.

Vijayanagarasāmrājyamu, Bhārati VI, ii. p. 622.

124. KRŚNARĀYA'S CONQUEST OF WARANGAL.

While king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, he, being desirous of conquest, started on a campaign towards the east and captured the forts of Kondavidū, Kondapalle, Inukonda, Nāgārjunikonda and others. During this campaign he also defeated and drove away the Mussalmans from Ekaśilānagara (Warangal) and brought the territory under his rule, maintaining the chiefs of the Kākatiya dynasty according to their status.

Kaifyat of Anumakonda, Mac. MSS. 15-4-5, p. 108.

125. KRŚNARĀYA'S INVASION OF KALIṄGA.

Puruṣottama Gajapati, son of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, ruled over Āndhra and Kaliṅga. His son Pratāparudra ruled, in addition to his ancestral territory, over the country up to Udayagiri in the west, which he left in charge of his deputy, Tirumala Kōpa(Rauta ?)rāya Mahāpātra. He posted his son, Virabhadra Gajapati, Narahari Pātra, the son of Kumāra Hamvīra Pātra, Lakṣmīpatirāju, son of Śrinātharāju, Janyāvala Kasuvāpātra, Suprapāla Candra Mahāpātra, Pūsapāti Rācirāju, Rācūri Yallaya and Uddānḍa Khān at Kondavidū, with an army sufficient to defend the fort. Pratāparudra Gajapati kept Kaliṅga directly under his control and supervised the government the entire kingdom, being seated upon his throne in the city of Katakam.

* * * *

Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya, the lord of the Narapati throne at the city of Vidyānagara in the western kingdom, having started (on an expedition of conquest) with his army, reduced the fort of Udayagiri, and took its commandant, Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra, prisoner. Advancing with his army, he captured the forts of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Addanki, Ammanabrolu, Tangēdu and Kyātavaram (in quick succession). At last he laid siege to Kondavidū,

and scaled its walls by means of movable platforms. Having taken the *Patras* and feudatory chiefs, and nobles who were defending the fort prisoners, he gave them assurances of safety, and returned to Vidyānagara.

(Kṛṣṇarāya) once again set out from the Kārṇāta country with the object of effecting the conquest of Kaliṅga in S. S. 1438 Yuva. He entered the Jammi valley, passed from Kōna by the way of Kotthām and subjugated Vaddādi and Mādugalu from Poṭnūr. Finally he moved upon Katakam, and offered battle to Pratāparudra Gajapati who fled from his capital (as he could not oppose his enemy). A peace was concluded, according to the terms of which, the Gajapati gave his daughter in marriage to the Rāya. Then Kṛṣṇarāya finally returned to Vidyānagara.

Kaifiyat of Sāmaralakōṭa, L. R. 19, pp. 147-9.

126. KRŚNARĀYA'S ATTACK UPON GUTTACK.

While Pratāparudra Gajapati Mahārāja was ruling the kingdoms of Āndhra and Kaliṅga, Vīra Pratāpa Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya, the lord of the city of Vijayanagara in the western country, who was seated on the throne of the Narapatis, came with his fourfold army to effect the conquest of Kaliṅga. He passed through Peddāpuram on his way to Katakam, when the country was ruined to some extent on account of the confusion caused by the army. After Kṛṣṇarāya's return to the western kingdom, the Gajapati once again assumed the government of the country.

Kaifiyat of Kimmār, L. R. 19, pp. 209-10.

127. KRŚNADEVARĀYA'S WAR ON KALIṄGA.

The Ancestors of Kṛṣṇarāya :—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was the son of Narasimhadēvarāya and a grandson of Iśvaradēvarāya.

The last mentioned chief ruled from his headquarters at Anegondi over the southern districts such as Śrirangam and Tiruccināpalli.* His son, Narasimhadēvarāya, was a man of

* This is not true.

considerable ability, and he governed the country from Ānegondi to Rāmēśvaram.

His son, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ruled, in addition to the territories governed by his father, over the country up to the western sea, which he had conquered from his enemies. His son-in-law,* who was a great captain, having gathered a large number of foot and horse, subdued Cittūr, Candragiri, Cudappah, Kandanavōlu and Siddhavatām; he led the army against Hyderabad† and inflicted defeats upon the Kutubu Śāhi and the Nizām Śāhi kings. Having made himself the master of Gaṇḍikōṭa, he posted garrisons in the frontier forts, and wrested all the countries which he brought under the sway of Kṛṣṇarāya.

Then, Kṛṣṇarāya who conceived the idea of conquering the northern region, came (with an army) and subdued the forts of Vinukonda and Bellamkonda which were then under the Gajapatis. He engaged himself in a fierce struggle with Praharēśvara, a brother of the Gajapati, who was at Kondavīdu, and having slain him in a battle, he made himself the master of the three forts, *viz.*, Kondavīdu, Vinukonda and Bellamkonda. He advanced as far as Bengal without meeting any opposition on his way, and captured the forts of Kaṭakam, Kalyāṇam and Kalubariga. He set up a pillar of victory near (Potnūr) and subjugated the Twelve Mannes (*bāra-mannēlu*) up to Simhācalam. At last, the Rāya's army surrounded the city of Kaṭakam, where the Gajapati usually resided. When an attempt was made to capture him, the Gajapati opened negotiations with the object of making peace. Kṛṣṇarāya said: "If you really desire peace, then you should give me your daughter in marriage." The Gajapati, however, was not willing to accede to this demand; but his ministers pointed out that in case he rejected the conditions, Kṛṣṇarāya would not only capture the fort but put all of them to death. Therefore, it was prudent to escape from the danger at any sacrifice.

* Rāmarāja.

† It ought to be Gōlkonda, as Hyderabad was not built at the time.

The Gajapati, having at last given his consent, his daughter Lukkhā was married to the Rāya who thereupon struck his tents and departed to Ānegondi with his bride.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya died on Š.S. 1327 Tāraṇa, Jyēṣṭha śu. 6 Sunday.*

Account of the Narapati Kings, L.R. 50, pp. 313-15.

128. KRŚNARĀYA AND THE PORTUGUESE.

ALEUQUERQUE'S MESSAGE TO KRŚNARĀYA—HE LEAVES GOA.

The king who ruled at Ānegondi at that time was Vīra Kṛṣṇarāya, the younger brother of Narasimharāya. He was more prosperous than all the other Rāyas. Albuquerque thought that if he made friends with him it would not be difficult to destroy the power of Islam in the Dekhan. And he sent Father Louis as his messenger to the city on the bank of the Tungabhadrā. Along with him was sent Gaspar, the interpreter. Swift horses were also sent as present to the Rāya. The Father was to tell the Rāya all that happened as also the principles of the Christian Faith and get the Rāya on the side of the Portuguese. Further he was to tell the Rāya, that an army should be sent to drive out the Moplahs from Malabar. "If you come down through the pass and invade the district we will (at the same time) come by sea and attack. This would not obstruct the trade in horses. It would appear that Mangalapuram or Bhattakkala will be a convenient station for us. If you permit us to fortify it we shall guard the sea so that horses may be imported by none but you."

Yet Albuquerque could not stay in peace at Goa for more than three months. When the 'Ādil Khān crossed the pass, the entry of provisions into the city was completely stopped, and the roads were closed (May 11). Then the citizens rose in revolt and Albuquerque had to leave the city and take refuge at Port Raw. His stay there was miserable; the monsoon was

*The date is wrong. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was not born at that time. The astronomical details do not work out correctly.

spent in fighting against the enemy as well as hunger. Many Portuguese fell ill and died. The rest to satisfy their hunger turned Muhammadans. On a day when there was no rain, Albuquerque left for the 'Five Islands' along with the remaining Portuguese, and there stayed in peace for some time (1510 August).

Kēraṇa Peṭama, Chap. 43, p. 113.

129 (a). KRŚNARĀYA AND THE MUHAMMADANS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN.

The Rāya, while he was seated in the assembly with the *amaranāyakas*, said to Ayyana Malaka ('Ain-ul-Mulk) and Ankuśa Rāvū*, "As you lived in Bijāpūr for a long time, your government is said to be more ancient than that of Yēdula Śāha, you must have known his antecedents as well as the circumstances (of the origin) of Nizām Śāhu and Kutupana Malaka. How did these chiefs acquire sovereignty?"

Ayyana Malaka gave the following reply :

* * * * *

The Barudu of Bedadakōṭa† seized some territory and a few forts which he began to rule firmly. The bearer of the *gīḍi* at his court‡ was called Yēdula Śāhu; the custodian of hawks Nizām Śāhu; and the watchman over the hounds Kutupana Malaka.§ Of these three Yēdula Śāhu rules over

* There is no evidence to show that 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankuśa Rāvū were the contemporaries of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Both of them together with Jagadēva Rāvū who is mentioned further below in the text lived in the court of Śādāśiva.

† Bedadakōṭa is the Telugu name of Bīdar. Barudu is identical with Barid. As Barid did not seize any territory during Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's time, and as the, 'Ādil Shāh, the Nizām Shāh and Quṭb-ul-Mulk were never under the authority of Barid, it is reasonable to suppose that the writer of this work confounds Barid with his masters, the Bahmany Sultāns.

‡ The term *gīḍi* means a narrow necked vessel. It formed one of the articles of royal insignia in the Hindu kingdoms. It was customary for a person to stand before the king on ceremonial occasions carrying in his hands a golden *gīḍi* containing water with which the king rinsed his mouth when he was inclined to do so. It is not known whether this practice also obtained at the Mussalman courts.

§ According to Ferishta the founders of these three dynasties started from humble beginnings. Yusuf 'Ādil Khān was the head of the royal kitchen.

Bijāpūr, Nizām Śāhu over Ahmadnagar, and Kutupana Malaka over Golkonda. The duration of the government of Baridu of Bedadakōta and others is one hundred years. Of these the Nizām Śāhu is the oldest; next comes Yēdula Śāhu; and Kutupana Malaka comes last.* Honour is done to (the masters of) these thrones in this order. These three families together own 100,000 excellent horses, and 100 *ghats* of elephants. It is not a kingdom protected by foot-soldiers, and there are no Muhammadans to serve (the kings as foot-soldiers). But in Karnātaka, (the king) has the fourfold-army; and the skill displayed by the Karnātakas in fighting is not known to the people of those countries. Therefore, the rulers of other kingdoms cannot withstand the Karnātakas."

When (Ayyana Malaka) had related what he had known, Ankuśa Rāvu and Jagadēva Rāvu said,....."What the Mussalman Rāvu(?) had said is correct. The Muhammadans never compare their strength with that of the enemy, when they meet him on the battle-field. If the enemy breaks, unable to resist their fierce onset, they cut him to pieces pursuing him wherever he may go. On the other hand, if the opponents face them boldly, they beseech them afterwards. When the nobles and ministers† at the palace who know these affairs ask them to retire (from the battle-field) they do so at once; and do not face (the enemy) having no regard for the loss of prestige to the government which their retirement from the battle-field without showing fight might involve. Therefore, when a battle is unavoidable, the Karnātakas who are skilful in fight, discriminate between good and evil, and offering battle, cut (the enemy) to pieces. They have *prabhuśakti*‡, and so the foot-soldiers and attendants are useful".

When (Ankuśa Rāvu and Jagadēva Rāvu) explained (the matter), all the *amaranāyakas* who were then present submitted;

* Curiously enough this is in perfect agreement with the order in which these chiefs asserted their independence.

† *Vakili pinnā-peddalu* literally means the elders and the youngsters at the gate.

‡ Power of sovereignty.

“ it is even so ”. So, the Rāya said : “ You who can find what comes before and after, and who are acquainted with fighting and threats, and victory and defeat, know well (how to do your work.) All of you should take an oil-bath and be ready, for you have to wage war upon the Muhammadans.” Then he gave them presents and *tāmbūla* individually and sent them away.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 65-9.

129(b). THE AFFAIRS OF BIJĀPŪR.

While Kṛṣṇarāya was engaged in a confidential conversation with Ayyamarasa, Mārīci Rāmayya came in, and having announced that the spies had returned from Bijāpūr, said :—

“ The spies who had gone to Bijāpūr saw the city, suburbs, fort, bastions, cavaliers, mahouts, elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and *amaranāyakas*. They went as far as the gate of the palace called Dādimahal, where, in the audience hall, all the vaziers, captains, and ministers such as Dondō Pant and Mukunda Pant, the envoy of Kutapana Malaka, assembled together and held consultations.”

“ Kṛṣṇarāya has been contemplating to wage war upon the Mussalmans since his accession to the throne of Karnāṭaka ; and to realise his object he has been making efforts (persistently). These facts are described in the despatches that have been sent from Vijayanagara. Of the three kingdoms, the Aśvapati, the Gajapati and the Narapati, the last mentioned is of course superior ; and the other two take rank after it.”

Muddā Paṇḍit of Gōlkonda, objecting warmly to this statement, said: “ If you talk of the kingdoms, all the three must be regarded as equals. Are there superior and inferior kingdoms ? ”

“ (One of the ministers) replied : “ The Troopers and mahouts of the Nizām Śāhu, are, indeed, noted for their courage (in the battle) ; but as the Nizām is deficient in wealth and forts, there is no reason why he should be considered great.”

"Muddā Pāṇḍit of Gōlkōṇḍa sarcastically observed, "Why should he not be considered great? Where is the occasion for considering the superiority and the otherwise of states?"

When each of them had thus expressed his individual opinion (?), Bāhubalēndruni Brahmayya explained to them the reasons (for estimating the status of the kingdoms), in conciliatory language. "These three kingdoms represent Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara. Their comparative merit should be determined in the same manner as the superiority of these Gods is decided. The Aśvapati is famous for his cavalry, the Gajapati for his elephants; and the Narapati for his man power. Therefore, it must be conceded that the Narapati is superior; for, the Lord has said, 'among men I am the king.' Moreover, there are several *dēvadāyas*, *brahmadāyas*, sacred tanks, and holy places of pilgrimage in that kingdom. Besides, the God Viṣṇu dwells in a cognizable form on the hill of Venkāṭa. Elders, wise men, Brahmans, *Yatis*, heads of monasteries, and kings visit this God and offer him their presents. So the kings of Karnāṭaka are celebrated for their holiness. The Gajapati comes next to him, as the God Jagannāyaka has condescended to dwell in his kingdom; the Aśvapatis live on the banks of the Ganges in the kingdom of (the God) Viśvanātha. Yēdula Sāhu, Kutapana Malaka and Nizām Sāhu, these three who are on the frontiers of Karnāṭaka belong to the same race. Is it proper to class them as the equals of the kings of Karnāṭaka? "*

The great ministers, Doṇḍō Pāṇḍit, Muddō Pāṇḍit and Dādō Pāṇḍit understood the meaning (of Brahmayya). As they served under masters who were given to drunkenness and cow-slaughter and had no faith in the Gods and the Brahmans,

*Discussions such as the one described in this passage appear to have been common in the sixteenth century. (see. e.g. Kṛṣṇārāya's *Āmuktamālīyada*, 4 : 131.) "When it commences to rain, the wayfarers who take shelter in the rest-houses assert (in the course of their talk) that the Narapati takes his rank above the Gajapati, who in his turn is superior to the Aśvapati; and they come to blows while enumerating the men, elephants and horses which each of them possessed; but as soon as the clouds show signs of dispersing, they scatter themselves, each going his own way."

they spoke as becoming the servants of such masters with pride and want of foresight. They felt that Brahmā Pandit had spoken the truth. Then they held secret consultations thus : ' If the armies of Karnāṭa cross the frontiers forcibly, it will be an outrage on us and the Gajapati. (Fresh) provisions must be stored in the frontier forts, and elephants, horses and foot-soldiers should be sent to protect them, so that this might not happen.' Then the ministers informed Yēdula Śāhu of the decision which they arrived at in the council. When he heard this, he exclaimed in anger, " Have the Karnāṭakas ever crossed the Tungabhadrā until now ? Can Kṛṣṇarāya achieve anything more than Iṣvara Nāyaka, Narasā Nāyaka, and Vīra Nararsimharāya ? " Dondō Pandit and other ministers represented : (Considerations of) political morality do not affect war. We must take the necessary precautions, though it is not known whom God will help. Both Nizām Śāhu and Kutapana Malaka sent letters here, as soon as they received reports from Vijayanagara ; and having strengthened the defences of their frontiers, they had (already) taken the (necessary) preliminary precautions (to resist the invaders). Bāhubalēndruni Brahmayya is ready to send to the mountain forts on his frontier provisions, horses and cavaliers. We must also send provisions and troops to Ikkiri-Basavāpattanam and (the other places) on the frontiers which are under the control of Śāṅkara Nāyadū, Ādikomāllu, and Bōya Rāmappa (?). The Sultān commanded them to do likewise ; he also ordered them to repair the fort and the bastions of Bijāpūr, and store provisions and ammunition in the fort. For the last eight days, the pārupatyagārs of the court have been busy placing big and small cannon, rocket tubes, toothed stones, fulcrum stones, spike stones and tigers' heads (on the walls) ; they have also been planting upright horse-stones outside the fort to prevent the horse (of the enemy) from approaching the walls. Moreover, they despatched sixty spies to Vijayanagara with instructions to report to them whatever information they might obtain every day. All the inhabitants of Bijāpūr are preoccupied. The people living on the frontiers, having heard of this talk (about

war) are sending all their belongings to Bijāpūr (for safety)”. (The spies) also reported to the Rāya what they had heard and seen (during their sojourn) in the kingdom of Bijāpūr. The Rāya, Appāji, Ayyamarasa and Kondamarasa having heard this report said, “No sooner had (the rulers) of Ahmadānagara and Gōlkonda received reports from their respective *sthānāpatis* stationed here than they took not only the preliminary precautions but having informed the Yēdula Sāhu induced him to send provisions (to his frontier forts). Therefore, their preliminary precautions, wealth and strength are, indeed, incomparable.” Then they distributed presents among the spies, who were instructed to remain in Bijāpūr, and send the Rāya daily the information which they might obtain after thorough investigation. The Rāya and his councillors having sent away menial servants, engaged themselves in a confidential conversation.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 46-51.

129 (c). PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES AT
AHMADĀNAGARA AND GŌLKONDA.

As soon as the Rāya heard that the spies Rāmu and Gōpōji had returned from Ahmadānagara and Gōlkonda respectively, he commanded the people that were about him to retire, and having summoned the said spies to his presence, he asked them for the news of the kingdoms from which they came. (Then) they communicated to him the intelligence which they obtained from villages and towns during the course of their journey on foot from Vijayanagara to Ahmadānagara and Gōlkonda. ‘In all the frontiers,’ they said, ‘strangers, people of other places and wayfarers are subjected to search; the people who carry no letters or documents are asked in a threatening manner to state the place from which they come and the people to whom they belong. (Having satisfied themselves) they permit the people to go (to their destinations). On reaching the capital, if, after seeing the suburbs, a person desires to enter the fort, he is permitted to do so only after one of the residents of the place who is known to him comes forward as a surety with the declaration that the person

desiring to enter the fort is his friend or relation and that he is ready to suffer from the consequences of any crime which the former may commit. Then after affixing one seal upon another (?), they send him into the fort. On showing the seal, the people (who are inside) admit him into the interior. One is permitted to move about the city, on producing the seal before the *talāri* known as the *kotwāl*. When after the days of sojourn in the fort, a person desires to return to his country, he has to give notice of his intention to the first *pārupatyagāra*, and get his seal (affixed to the permit which he carries with him). This permit must be shown (at first) to the *talāri* called *kotwāl* and then to the sentries that mount guard at the gate of the fort. The visitor is then allowed to go out.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 54-55.

129(d). PUNISHMENTS AND REWARDS IN THE MUSSALMAN KINGDOMS.

(We at last reached) the courtyard (of the palace) having surmounted such difficulties (as mentioned already). (Several kinds of) punishment are daily inflicted (upon people) in front of the palace ; men are cut into two either (with a sword) or a saw ; they are tied up in a sack and beaten with an iron club ; bow-strings are inserted into their ear (lobes?) ; they are made to sit astride on ruined walls with a stone two *tulas* in weight fastened to each leg ; and they are tied into a bundle and are rolled (on the ground) in the sun ; besides the *maniyyagārs* of the *sīmas*, are tortured in various ways ; they are tied to the feet of the elephants and are dragged (on the ground). If (the *maniyyagārs*) being terrified at the sight of these horrible tortures pay the money, they are left alive ; if, on the other hand, they find it inconvenient to pay, they are tortured to death in the middle of the street itself.

(Having seen these tortures, we passed on to the government offices which are built in front of the palace).* From that place, the people of all the offices salute the First

*The language of the original is very corrupt ; and its meaning is not quite intelligible. The sentence enclosed in the brackets may be taken to be the general drift of the passage.

Lord, while he holds an audience in the palace surrounded by some of his followers. After the audience, while retiring into the palace, he halts on the lofty path, (connecting it with the audience hall) to look at the people gathered together in the outer offices. Then he issues a command to the effect that they should be honoured and rewarded according to custom. As soon as the order is given, the servants (who are in charge of different objects of present) bring cash gifts, belts, coats, turbans and rolls of betel all of which are stored up in the offices themselves and pass them on to the people concerned in the presence of the First Lord himself. As the allowance is fixed for all classes of people attending the durbar, (the First Lord) supervises its distribution and then retires into the palace.*

Rāyavācakam, pp. 55-6.

129 (e). PREPARATIONS OF WAR IN THE MUSSALMAN KINGDOMS.

The ministers perused the letters which they received from all directions.....What (we) have heard of their deliberations is this: (The Rāya ?) commissioned 3,00,000 horse, † 1,000 elephants, and some foot-soldiers to wage war upon Bijāpūr, Ahmadānagara, and Gōlkondā. If these forces attack us, it would be very difficult to contend against them. The armies of Aghapura ‡ in the north, of the Karnātakas in the south, and of the Gajapati in the east seem to make their appearance. § We serve none of the three kings, *viz.*, the Aśvavati, the Narapati and the Gajapati or any one else who is hostile. As there was no orderly government in these three kingdoms, we seized places belonging to them, and have been passing our time by the strength of our neck ¶. If they become friends, and

* This passage is very difficult to translate, as its construction is very involved. The translation is not literal.

† Even according to *Rāyavācakam*, the Rāya possessed only 36,000 horse. It is incomprehensible how he could have commissioned 3,00,000 horse.

‡ The identity of this kingdom is not known. It is not unlikely that Aghapura mentioned here stands for Agra.

§ The text has 'kanupimācukonētat̄u'.

¶ The sense of the passage is not quite clear. The language is enigmatic; and the meaning of certain expressions such as *medabalimi* is unintelligible. "By the strength of our arm" is more suited to the context.

send troops to attack the garrisons on their respective frontiers, it may not be possible to contend against them. Owing to our good fortune, and (the attitude of) providence towards our masters (?), we have been ruling in this land, on account of the prevailing anarchy, as intermediate chiefs for sixty years with the names of Yēdula Śāhu, Kutapana Malaka, and Nizām Śāhu. The people of Aghapura govern the country between the Indus and the Gōdāvarī, the Karnāṭakas rule over the land between Kērala and the Krṣṇā ; and the Gajapati holds sway over the territory extending from Jagannātham to Bedadakōṭa. (Our kingdoms are) like the Tripuras, as we have taken possession of impregnable forts which are inaccessible to these three kings ; therefore, there is no occasion for fear.”

A person called Tātkālikamati (having heard the above) said: “What you have said is true ; the demons that dwelt in the Tripuras were mighty beings ; they obtained from Śiva a gift by the virtue of which they could go wherever they liked without fear of being killed by any one including gods and demons. The inhabitants of these Three Cities (Tripuras) used to meet for $3\frac{3}{4}$ *ghadis* once in every dozen years, to discuss matters (of common interest), and disperse on all sides as usual. When the time came for the destruction of these mighty lords of the Three Cities, the Goddess of Earth remonstrated with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara, that she could not bear the burden of the wicked people of the Tirpuras. Then, Brahmā told her that it was not possible for any one to slay them ; nevertheless, they could be slain, if she would become a chariot, the Vēdas horses, the Mēru a bow, the serpent Śeṣa a bow-string, Viṣṇu the *Nārāyanāstra*, and Śiva the charioteer. Then those demons would be destroyed. Similarly, at the time when the kings of the Tripuras, *viz.*, Bijāpūr, Ahmadānagara, and Gōlkōnda make their appearance, danger is inevitable.”

When Tātkālikamati explained the above to the ministers, they said : “It is even so. Nevertheless, we must not remain idle so long as we exist, for it is necessary to maintain the attributes of royalty and carry on deliberations.”

The representatives at Vijayanagara have reported that since his accession to the throne of Karnāṭaka, Kṛṣṇarāya has been contemplating an attack upon the Muhammadans. On hearing this, they (Nizām Śāhu and Kutapana Malaka?) became anxious, and addressed a letter to Yēdula Śāhu, having resolved to abide by the consequences. He also sent letters (to all frontier stations?) and stored up provisions in, and posted garrisons to, all the frontier forts in order to increase their strength (for defence); he also took preliminary precautions for the protection of the First Place (Capital?)

When (the kings of) Ahmadānagara and Gōlkonda received letters informing them of all these arrangements, they also posted garrisons to forts and fortified places on the frontier. Having resolved to march towards the frontier on obtaining intelligence that the Karnāṭakas have moved with their armies towards the frontier) and are encamped in some place, they sent 120 spies who are capable of assuming many guises and conversing in several tongues to Vijayanagara in order to get aily information (about the movements of the enemy).

Moreover, they summoned to their presence Brahman astrologers, fakirs proficient in scriptures, and augurs knowing past, resent and future, and commanded them to foretell who would be victorious on the battle-field, in the event of Kṛṣṇarāya's invasion of the Muhammadan territory. They said: "We find that a king of divine origin is born in Karnāṭa; he will subdue his kingdom as well as those of the Aśvapati and the Gajapati and set up pillars of victory; on his way back to his country, he will visit Kalyāṇa Venkaṭēśvara, the 108 holy Tirupatis, 2 shrines and 18 śaktīs. He will pay his respects to the God āmanātha at Sētu, wash his sword at Dhanuṣkōṭi, and rule without opposition as a paramount sovereign on the throne of Karnāṭaka for sixty-four years.* When the elders heard this, they thought, "Perhaps it is so; the Mlečchas do not

*The original has 'aravainālugu', but surely it ought to be *iravainālugu*. Then the length of Kṛṣṇarāya's reign as given in the original is only approximately correct.

hesitate to perpetrate unjust, cruel and inhuman deeds. Can the Goddess of Earth endure them? Who knows whether fate similar to that of the Tripuras will overtake them? Thinking in this wise all of them went to their respective homes.

"We left the palace with them, and came out of the city in the company of fakirs. Then we joined the pilgrims who were going to Rāmasētu from the Bhāgīrathī, and having crossed the water (*i.e.*, the river Kṛṣṇā) in their company we assumed our normal habiliments and reached the city."

On hearing the news of Ahmadānagara and Gōlkōndā from the spies, Arava Rāma and Pakkīri Gōpōji, Appāji, Ayyamarasa and Kōndamarasa observed to the Rāya: "The Mussalman country is similar to the kingdom of Yama and their capital is like the capital of Yama. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of that city are the servants of Yama. Having visited such places as these they obtained after careful investigation information on several topics. By the valour of Your Majesty, they have returned to the capital, having in the course of their travels, entered the palaces and dominions of the *Mlecchas* and wandered over countries such as Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Kānauja where a hundred languages are spoken. Is it possible for weaklings to travel like this and return (safely)?" When the ministers praised, in this manner, the spies employed by the state, the Rāya who was immensely pleased, gave them each 500 *ghaṭs* and other gifts (as a mark of his appreciation of their services) and sent them away, with instructions to report to him daily the news of different towns which they may visit.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 56-60.

129 (f). MEETING OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL.

The Rāya commanded the people that were about him to withdraw and said to his councillors: "You have heard the news from Bijāpūr, Ahmadānagara, and Gōlkōndā. What is the

cause of the anxiety of the chiefs of those Three Houses and of such important conversations ?". The councillors replied : " There had been no talk of waging war upon the Mussalmans before Your Majesty's accession ; so, they were free from anxiety on the score of the masters of this kingdom. Your Majesty has now become the lord of the throne and given expression to words indicating liberality and prowess. Won't they cause anxiety in the mind of the enemy ? Your Majesty is accustomed to speak daily with the representatives of those Three Chiefs with modesty. As they are shrewd men, they (compare) Your Majesty with their own masters..... In these circumstances, (it is customary) to give them the salary and allowances as fixed by former kings ; and when they bring documents and letters or have a talk over some matter, they are given like the envoys from different places betel leaves and nuts, in accordance with the usual custom and sent away ; but since Your Majesty's accession to the throne, Your Majesty has commanded that cash payments should be made from the treasury not only to those (envoys ?) that stay but to their retinue also (?). Your Majesty maintains the *ka jitam* force, allows the *amara-nāyakas* to hold their estates (as usual) and distributes rewards and gifts of money evenly to people whether they are in the service of (our) government or of foreign states. Your Majesty is accustomed to refer to the Three Chiefs in a friendly manner. As the representatives of those Three Chiefs have been staying in Kārṇātaka for a long time, they must have studied treatises on the art of government. Therefore, they have become thoughtful and sent despatches (to their respective masters, communicating to them their own ideas.)" *

The Rāya said : " We never spoke to them disrespectfully or anger. We honoured them with rewards and held pleasant conversation with them as the representatives of their masters."

*The language of the original is very involved. A literal rendering of the text has not been attempted.

Ayyamarasa observed : " Whatever Your Majesty said by way of pleasantry may be considered by them unnatural ; for it is said,

" Is the humble speech uttered by a great man genuinely humble (in spirit) ? It will appear unnatural later. Does the bow which bends from its extremities show humility ? It kills the opponent at once."

" It is customary, according to the politico-moral maxims of Cāṇakya, that envoys should report to their masters not only what they have heard and seen, but their considered opinion on affairs forming the subject-matter of their report. The information so communicated deserves the anxious consideration of the people there. After careful examination of the facts mentioned in the report they must have tendered their advice."

When the councillors had expressed their opinion, the Rāya said : " This appears to (provide us with) a cause for what we have intended to do in the future." Then he sent away Appāji and others.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 61-64.

129 (g).

The Rāya said to Appāji and other (ministers) : " We have only expressed privately our desire to wage war upon the Mussalmans ; and they are already taking steps (to ward off our attack). Is it courage or panic that has prompted them to take these precautionary steps ? "*

To this question, Appāji and the other ministers replied : " (Kings) generally hear the news coming from all quarters ; but they do not immediately pay any attention to it. After the lapse of a few days, however, they cause a rumour to be spread that the ruler of the sīma would pay a visit to his district ; so that the forts in all the places should have fresh supplies of provisions and other articles as well as its full complement of troops.†

*The language of the original is not quite intelligible here. So the gist of the sentence is given.

† The original has ' *samadālam*' which perhaps denotes the required quota of troops to be maintained for the defence of a fort.

These are the characteristics of a dignified* and courageous action; but action such as this must be attributed to the fickleness of the mind."

Thereupon, Ayyamarasa and Kondamarasa said:

"The Muhammadans are given to drunkenness; they consume opium and are (generally) intoxicated. Therefore, they are naturally afraid. So long as they are under the spell of drink, they have no control over their bodies or minds. In that state they cut to pieces whomsoever they meet. They are the *Rāksasas* of the Kali age. But when they regain their consciousness, they feel regret for their racial disposition. The Brahmans eat food cooked with salt and tamarind juice. Consequently they have neither pride nor malice. Having realised this fact, the Muhammadans entrusted the management of the administration to Brahmans who were under their control. They appoint and dismiss officials and generally conduct the affairs of the state, according to the advice of these Brahmans. Therefore, the affairs of state (in the Mussalman kingdoms) are carried on as desired by the ministers. If any differences arise between the king and the ministers, not only do the ministers lose their lives but the government itself is upset. So, this is the action concerted by the ministers of those three states after due deliberation." They added: "They have no initiative of their own, and are dependent on the advice of others; but Your Majesty has both. Therefore, nothing can equal Your Majesty's policy. If the Mussalmans of the Three Classes march together with a single aim to the battle-field, they can bring into the field 1,50,000 horses, 1,500 must-elephants, and 300,000 foot-soldiers. To conquer them, we should at least have twice that force. Can we acquire so many horses in Karnātaka? No. To have the satisfaction of keeping all the four kinds of troops (we maintain some horses).†; but if we give battle in detail with (the whole of our army consisting of) 12,000 *kaijītam* and 24,000

* In the original we have *gamhara* which is very probably a corruption of *gambhīra*.

†There is evidently a gap in the text here. The original, as it is, does not give any sense.

amaranāyakam horse, 50 *ghaṭs* of *kaijītam* and 120 *ghaṭs* of *amaranāyakam* elephants, and 300,000 *kaijītam* foot both old and new, 500,000 *amaranāyakam* foot, the war with the Mussalmans is not a serious matter."

Some of the councillors, said : " We will win victory by our courage and the grace of Lakṣmī as well as the help of Providence. It is said :—

" Wherever courage is, there dwells Lakṣmī ; wherever is Lakṣmī, there is Hari : wherever Hari is, there is *dharma* ; and wherever is *dharma*, there is victory ".

" So courage is the most important of all. Your Majesty is a man of courage, and every enterprise which Your Majesty undertakes is bound to be successful. The elephants, horses, and foot-soldiers are not the cause (of victory). It is only with the help of God that one can rule the kingdoms and the islands (in the seas). Formerly the Six Emperors ruled the Seven Islands remaining in their respective places by means of the discus of their command (*ājñācakra*). (Similarly) the Sixteen Kings ruled the earth later. In the same manner, Your Majesty gets the assistance of God Venkaṭēśvara."

The Rāya having heard this, said to Appāji and other ministers : " Make arrangements so as to ensure the success of our future enterprise." Then he inquired whether the spies brought letters and (other) documents.

Rājavācakam, pp. 51-54.

129 (b). THE SUMMONING OF THE AMARA-NĀYAKAS.

(Then the Rāya) summoned to his presence (the following) *Amara-Nāyakas* :—

Ayyana Malaka ('Ain-ul-Mulk).

Ankuśa Khān.

Rāṇā Jagadēv.

Timmappa Nāyaka (the muster-master).

Rācūri Rāmi Nāyadū.

Pemmasāni Rāmalingā Nāyadū.

Hānde Mallā Rao.

Bōyi Rāmappa.

The *Harivāṇam-Kumāllu* of the 18 *Kampāṇas*:—

The Commanders :—

Appara Pilla.
 Kuppara Pilla.
 Sāluva Nāyadū.
 Kumāra Timmappa.
 Sangarāju.
 The minister (*Pradhāni*) Cerva.
 Tipparasu.
 Ayyappa Nāyadū.
 Ko(a)ṭikam Viśvanātha Nāyadū †.
 Cevvappa Nāyadū.‡
 Akkappa Nāyadū.
 Kṛṣṇappa Nāyadū.
 Velugōti Yācama Nāyadū.
 Kannada Basavappa Nāyadū.
 Sāluva Mēkarāju.
 Maṭla Anantarāju.
 Timmarāju.
 Viramarāju.

The *Reddi Kumāllu* :—

Bommi Reddi.
 Nāgāreddi.

* *Harivāṇam* or *Arivāṇam* literally denotes the plate or dish from which food is taken. Therefore, *Harivāṇam Kumāllu* literally means the sons of the eating-dish. It may be remembered in this connection that one of the classes of retainers of a king or prince is called *Kumāllu* or sons. They have the privilege of partaking the food left in the plate of the king or the prince after he finishes his meal. The *Harivāṇam-Kumāllu* mentioned here are evidently retainers of this class. They appear to have been recruited exclusively from the province of Araga which was sub-divided into 18 divisions known as *Kampāṇas*.

† The term *kāṭika* (*kāṭika*) means a staff or mace. Viśvanātha Nāyaka, the founder of the Madura Nāyak kingdom, was originally a mace-bearer at the court.

‡ The founder of the Tanjore Nāyak kingdom.

The Kamma Nāyaks :—

Vitthalappa Nāyadu.

Sons-in-law.

Sons.

The government (officials).

Amaranāyakam officials.*

He inquired after their welfare, and asked them how many elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and attendants each of them had. The *sthānāpati* of Vitthalappa Nāyadu, the kinsmen of Paraśurāma Nāyadu, one of the *sthānāpatis* of *Amaragārs*, called Virabhadrayya, and Daṭapati Rāya replied: “After Your Majesty had regulated the *kaijītam* (forces), all (the *nāyaks*) secured as many elephants, horses, mahouts, troopers, soldiers, and attendants as they have to maintain for their *amara-sīmas* according to the government registers. Things are not as they were. Expecting that Your Majesty might decide to start on an expedition at any moment, and command the Karanikas to take the muster, we acquired ten elephants, 100 horses and 1,000 soldiers more than what each of us should maintain according to the government ledgers. As (these *nāyaks*) had been eating the salt of Your Majesty, they are ready to conduct themselves in all the affairs of the Government so as to please Your Majesty.”

The Rāya was very much pleased with this reply.

Rājavācakam, pp. 64-5.

*All the nobles mentioned in this list were not the contemporaries of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Ayyana Malaka ('Ain-ul-Mulk), Ankuśa Khān, Rāṇā Jagadēv, Pemmasāni Rāmalīngā Nāyadu, and Haṇḍe Mallā Rao lived at the Court of Rāmarāja, during the reign of Sadāśiva. Velugōṭi Yācama Nāyadu, Maṭla Anantarāju, and Sāluva Mēkarāju flourished under Venkāṭa II, and the first and the last played an important part in the civil war subsequent to his death. Although Kaṭikam Viśvanātha Nāyadu and Cevappa Nāyadu who founded in the subsequent period the Nāyak Kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore respectively were younger contemporaries of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, there is absolutely no evidence to show that they had any share in his wars.

130 (a). VICTORY OF NANDYĀLA NĀRAPA OVER
QULY QUTB SHĀH.

Who is equal in valour to Nāra son of Nārasimha ?* He defeated the formidable Kutapana Malaka, the persistent oppressor of the King of Utkala, the Savāyi and the Barīd, in a fierce battle near Kondavīdu, and put him to flight.

Kaṭāpūrṇādayam, 1: 33.

130 (b). MUSLIM CHIEFS KILLED BY KRŚNARĀYA.

A Cāṭu:

O ! Krśṇarāya, the foremost of heroes ! Some of the proud and strong Muslim Kings killed by you in battle having arrived in *Svarga* caused the gods therein to smile in amusement by salaaming and addressing the *guru* (i.e. Brhaspati) as *Pir*, Indra as *Suratrāṇa*, and Śaci as *Bibī*.

131 (a). SĀLUVA TIMMARASA.

SUMMARY.

Cāṭus :

The first verse describes the vicissitudes of fortune in the early life of Sāluva Timma. It is said that he made his living at Gutti by stitching the leaf-platters from which people ate their food; next, he subsisted upon the food which he received as alms at Candragiri; then, he begged, and got himself admitted as a free boarder in a choultry at Penugonda. At last he secured the post of 'betel-bag bearer' to the commandants of various forts, and rose ultimately from that position to be the prime minister of the kingdom.

The second verse states that there was none who could be compared with Sāluva Timmarasa, for he alone had the privilege of being addressed with affection as 'father' by King Krśṇarāya.†

*Nāra was a scion of the Nandyāla family, and an officer in the service of Krśṇadēvarya.

†These two verses are ascribed to Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa, one of the *Aṣṭadiggajas* of Krśṇadēvarya's court.

The Rāya said, "All things can be acquired, if we are able to secure the services of extraordinary men." Ayyamarasa submitted, "Of course, a king has women and gems, but what is more desirable to him than these are: It is said in a verse on political morality,

'O ! King Badde, the earth is the consort of a king, and wise men are his gems. Are women and precious stones wives and gems to a king ?'

"If a king manages to secure the services of a proper person, he can acquire the nine gems and the fourfold army. Therefore, Your Majesty should not consider that Appāji is an ordinary minister. He is a minister of uncommon abilities. He alone possesses the capacity to make possible what is impossible. If Your Majesty is pleased to ask me how it is, (I shall explain it in this manner). Although all men have their bodies and limbs alike, it is necessary to separate them into (three classes, viz.,) the best, the middling, and the low. Thus, greatness is determined by the possession of superior virtue. And all the five metals are equal (as metals); but gold has surpassed the others. Just as the quality of the gold is discovered by the friction of the touchstone, the greatness of Appāji should be known (by the contact with difficult problems).

"As it is said in an old maxim,

'One among a hundred is born a hero; one in a thousand, a scholar; and one in hundred thousand, an orator; but it is doubtful whether a man of munificence is at all born.'

Therefore, the qualities (such as those possessed by Timmarasa) can be found only in one person; and not in others."

132. ALLASĀNI PEDDANA.

SUMMARY.

Peddana, the son of Allasāni Cokkarāju of the Nandavarika sect, was held in great esteem by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, because he composed the poems *Manucaritra* and *Viṣṇucittiyam*. It is generally believed that, as a mark of his esteem, the Rāya granted to the poet the village of Kōkāṭa as *umbali*; and that the poet granted the village in his turn to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas as an *agrahāra* naming it Śāthakōpapuram probably after his preceptor.

There is, however, no inscription to show that the poet granted this village as an *agrahāra* to Brahmans. But in one of the verses composed by Peddana, Kōkāṭa is referred to as an *agrahāra* granted to him by the Rāya. Moreover, there are two epigraphs in the village recording grants of tax-free land to the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu by Peddana himself.

Kaifiyat of Kōkāṭam, L.R. 10, pp. 99-100.

133. ŚRĪRANGA, THE FATHER OF ALIYA RĀMARĀJA.

SUMMARY.

During the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya at Vijayanagara, Śrīrangarāja was governing the province of Kandanavōlu. The period of Śrīrangarāja's authority is said to have extended from S.S. 1447 to S.S. 1475.*

Kaifiyat of Kṛṣṇagiri, L.R. 55, p. 162.

134. VIŚVANĀTHA NĀYAKA.

Hail ! While the emperor, the king of kings, Vīra Pratāpa Kṛṣṇa Mahādēvarāya, having conquered the Aśvapati and the Gajapati, was governing all the kingdoms, Viśvanātha Nāyanimgāru, the son of Adapamṭ Cinna Nāgama Nāyadu saluted the God Sōmēśvara of Pālakallu and granted to him, on S.S. 1451 Sarvadhāri, Śrāvanya śu.15†, the *tīrtha-kāṇika* thus :

*These dates cannot be relied upon, unless they are supported by some other evidence.

†Viśvanātha Nāyaka's father was the bearer of the betel-bag at the court. He himself appears to have started life as a *katīkām* or mace-bearer.

‡ Date is irregular.

The *Cirapu*-silver which is due to us as *tīrtha-kāṇika* from the village of Pālakallu which Kṛṣṇarāya gave us for our Nāyakship, we grant to the God for defraying the expenses of his daytime offerings as long as the Sun and the Moon last, so that the merit may accrue to our liege-lord, Kṛṣṇarāya and our parents.

An inscription at Muruvaṇi in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary district; L.R. 23, pp. 7-8.

135. KRŚNADĒVARĀYA AND THE TAMBALAS OF PUŚPAGIRI.

SUMMARY.

On one occasion, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya paid a visit to the temple of Śiva at Puśpagiri with the object of offering worship to the God. The priests of the temple who were Tambalas by caste regulated the course of their daily life on the model of the orthodox Brahmans. So, when the Rāya entered the precincts of the temple, he saluted the priests who came to meet him; but perceiving that their response to his salutation was different from the usual response of the Brahmans, he instituted enquiries regarding their caste; and discovering that they were Tambalas and not Brahmans, he was annoyed at having saluted men of a lower caste. Therefore, he resolved to establish a Brahman colony at Puśpagiri, so that there might be Brahmans for chanting the Vēdas during the temple festivals; and having sent for the Brahmans of the neighbouring *agrahāra* of Gotūru, he granted them the village of Puśpagiri also as an *agrahāra*.

Kaiśyat of Hanumadgundam, L. R. 37, pp. 245-8.

136. CHESS AT KRŚNARĀYA'S COURT

SUMMARY.

These two verses state that Bodducerla Cinna Timmana of Kausika-*gōtra* belonging to the Nandavarika sect of Brahmans defeated invariably King Kṛṣṇarāya in the game of chess, notwithstanding the help which the latter used to get from several advisers.*

* These two verses are attributed to a certain Bodducerla Timmana who obtained the village of Koppolu from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as a reward for his skill in the game of chess.

137. ON PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

Kṛṣṇarāyaṇa said : "So long as Vīra Narasimha-rāya bore the burden of the kingdom, Acyuta-rāya, Candramauli* and ourselves sat (comfortably at home). Now that we have been asked to bear the burden of the kingdom, we desire that you who are proficient in the art of government should clearly explain to us how an enthroned monarch should conduct himself; what he should do to protect the people, regulate the conduct of servants and acquire merit; what measures he should adopt to conquer enemies, to nourish his friends and followers, and reward his servants. What are the situations in which a king should protect himself? How should he proceed to acquire wealth and spend it? How can he acquire name and fame permanently?"

The four ministers, Appāji, Ayyamarasa, Kondamarasa, and Bācarasa replied : "What Your Majesty desires to know is, indeed, the policy agreeable to ethics. To discuss all the principles of conduct and discrimination as well as the ways and means of carrying on the affairs (of state) with the counsellors, contributes to the acquisition of mastery over all things.† The king is nothing less than a partial manifestation of Viṣṇu, for the Lord said (to Arjuna) that among men he is king.

A verse‡ on political ethics describes the *Sabhāpati* or the President of an assembly thus :

"He who is young, wears jewels set with nine kinds of gems, perfumes his body with the fragrance of sandal and flowers, and surrounds himself with (subordinate) kings, deserves to be called the *Sabhāpati*."

"It is proper that he who is wealthy, victorious, noble-minded and resplendent with desirable qualities should sit enthroned in the midst of that assembly."

"Thus an enthroned king should know the seven members of royalty such as king, minister, ally, treasury, dominion, fort

* The identity of this prince is not known.

† The sentence in the original is corrupt, and an accurate rendering is not possible. What is given is only a paraphrase.

‡ Two verses are, as a matter of fact, cited in this context.

and army as well as the seven articles of present (during reception) such as palankeen, dress, ornament, vehicle, royal favour(?), camphor and *tāmbūla*. He should also understand the seven expedients or devices, *viz.*, conciliation, separation, gift, punishment, fraud, indifference and sorcery. The kings are addicted to seven (evil) passions: these, as described in a verse on political ethics, are :

Woman, gambling, drinking, hunting, arrogant language, oppression and wasting public funds; the king should not be caught in the toils of these seven passions.

Moreover, he must obtain the seven *santānas*, *viz.*, excavation of a tank, building of a Brahman village, construction of a temple, making a garden, getting a poem written, begetting a son, and discovering a treasure. Surrounding himself with the seven members of an assembly such as poets, scholars, reciters of *purāṇas* and of *itihāsas*, heralds, jesters and dancers,..... he should eradicate the evil-doers and protect the good."

"There are yet many more principles of political ethics; we have expounded but a small part."

On hearing this, Kṛṣṇarāya said, addressing Appāji and the other three ministers,

" You know the past, the present and the future; you have foresight and a knowledge of what has happened already and what is yet to happen. So you have explained to me political ethics in a very lucid manner. As the bee knows the scent of flowers from the breeze (I have learnt politics from you. In fact, I have been transformed into a politician by associating with you)* like an insect which is transformed into a bee by the association with bees. (Now please tell me) how to increase the income of the state."

The councillors replied :

" If Your Majesty walks (in the path of) *dharma*, it is bound to rain thrice a month; the land yields plenty. If the

*The passage is corrupt. Two or three mutilated sentences are jumbled into one.

government collect taxes without injustice, they prosper, and a good deal of money surely flows into the treasury." It is said :

'O ! Kirtinārāya, Justice is the means of increasing the prosperity of the people ; and the prosperity of the people is the source of wealth. Justice, therefore, is the treasure-house of kings.'

* * * *

Moreover, the Māhārāja Parikṣit who was crowned at the commencement of the Kali age.....confined the evils of the Kali to certain places specially reserved for them, and ruled the kingdom like Rāma removing the fear of death, of thieves, and of drought from the mind of the people so that they lived in happiness until they reached their hundredth year. Similarly Your Majesty should also govern the kingdom in accordance with the *dharma*.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 17-28.

138. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES OF KRŚNADĒVARĀYA.

Kṛṣṇarāya who heard attentively (the discourse) of Appāji and others on political ethics, said :

" Īvara Nāyadu, Narasimha Nāyadu, and Vīra Narāimharāya ruled the kingdom before this. So we desire now to visit those kingdoms, forts, countries, strongholds, Viṣṇu shrines, sacred places, the estates of the subordinate chiefs, and the frontiers (which are under our rule)."

The ministers replied : " What Your Majesty is pleased to say is very proper. One should tour the country ruled over by one's ancestors. Nothing can be known if one remains stationary in one place. Such being the case, it is necessary that the people in the kingdom should know Your Majesty. Therefore, Your Majesty) should establish your glory by touring the kingdom in all directions, accompanied by the fourfold army so as to create terror in the mind of the enemies and the subordinate chiefs."

Kṛṣṇarāya was pleased to hear this reply, and resolved to make a tour so that he might see his kingdom and the extensive earth. With the object of getting information in advance, he despatched quick-footed and keen-witted spies who were proficient in the knowledge of tongues and skilled in assuming disguises to Vijayāpura, Ahamadānagara, Bedadakōṭa, Rājāmahēndra, Āranga, Cennapattāna,* Śrīraṅgapattāna, Cadaranga-pattāna, Śrīraṅgam, Madhura, Rāmēśvaram, Ummattūr, Siva-samudram, Penugonḍa, Gōlkonḍa, Gurramkonḍa, Mēlnād, Morasunād, the Ghat country, the Tamil country, Malayālam-Kocci, Konkanam, Kērala, Virāṭapura, Varāṭa, Matsya-Vidarbha, Kāmbhōjanagara, Kāsmīra and Delhi as well as the southern districts of Tuluva and Haive, Candragiri, Gandikōṭa Cuddapah, Nandyāla, Bellamkonḍa, Rācūr, Mudgal, Nidigai and Mysore, so that they might obtain information about the countries and their rulers, the conduct of the petty chiefs, their wealth and military strength, the opinions (regarding the government) held by the people inhabiting the hamlets, villages and towns and the practices which were prevalent in the forts and report it to him privately everyday.

The arrangements in the towns: †The king issued an order threatening to punish evil-doers who behaved lawlessly in towns and molested people. He commanded that the people should conduct themselves without disobeying the orders of the government. Therefore, he enabled all people to walk freely in the streets and thoroughfares without the fear of being molested by any one whom they might meet.

After discharging all his daily duties and the closing of the night assembly, the Rāya would start *incognito* to go through the town. Having learnt everything (about the events that happened in the city) he used to return to the palace at the dawn of the day. Then he would rest for a short time; and getting up (from his bed) early in the morning, he would

*Cennapattāna which is mentioned here is obviously the town of that name in the Bangalore district of the present Mysore State.

†The passage is corrupt; only a paraphrase is given.

perform his morning ablutions, and hold the 'small durbar' while putting on the caste-mark. He would next enter the big audience hall and recollecting what he had heard and seen during his search of the city in the previous night, summon Jangamayya, the *talāri* and ask him about the happenings in the city. The *talāri* used to submit a report of everything that occurred within the four walls of the city. If Jangamayya's report tallied with what he had seen or heard, he would listen to it in silence. If, on the contrary, the *talāri* failed to give a true report,* he would flare up and say : " You do not know the incident which happened in such a house of such a row of such street in such a ward. Why should we find fault with you ? Your *talārikam* and our kingship are both excellent ! " The *talāri* was frightened. He arranged that his subordinates should patrol the streets day and night even without food and sleep, and communicate to him every minute (what was happening in the city). He wanted to know who could have secretly carried tales against him to the Rāya ; but soon he learnt that the Rāya gathered the information from his own personal experience during his nocturnal visits to the city and not from any tale-bearer. So, he ordered his subordinates to watch vigilantly and report to him the events happening in the city. He warned them that the king would go at night into the city for the investigation (of crime), and that they should take precautions to prevent the occurrence of evil acts in the streets, and give him no chance to make enquiries. The *talāri* accompanied by his friends and subordinates, took up his position outside the chamber of audience as soon as the Rāya retired at the close of the durbar into the interior of the palace, and waited there until he came out in disguise two *ghadis* after the closing of the gates. Then he followed the Rāya stealthily hiding himself cautiously here and there. The Rāya, (who noticed) *talāri* Jangamayya, accosted him and said : " We go through the town (every night), in pursuance of the programme of our daily

*The passage in the text has *bala-durbalamulu telupakapōṭṭi*.—Literally it means 'if he fails to bring out the strength and weakness in the incidents.'

work ; your subordinates and yourself should follow us at a distance." Thenceforward Jangamayya, the *talāri*, wandered through the streets with fear until the Rāya returned after his search of the city, to the palace, and then retired to his own residence. This matter reached the ears of Appāji and other courtiers who took great precautions both during day and night while discussing confidential problems in their houses.

The Rāya demands accounts :—Days passed in this manner. Kṛṣṇarāya used to listen every morning, according to his daily routine, to the reading of verses on political ethics. One day, Candrayya, the reader of these verses, sent his son to discharge his daily duty as he could not attend to it himself in person. The latter came and read verses from the *Sañjayanīti*, the *Viduranīti*, the *Cāṇakyanīti* and the *Nītiśataka* of Bhartrihari. He read without leaving out a single verse, and while the Rāya was listening to him attentively, a verse from Baddena's *Nītiśataka* struck him with great force.

" O ! King Badde, only those kings deserve to be called strong who maintain an army larger than the armies of all the feudatory chiefs. The other kings are, indeed, far removed from the power to command."

When the Rāya heard this verse, he asked the reader to read it twice in order to grasp its meaning completely. One day, while he was sitting in the audience chamber, he sent for the *karyikas* and asked them, " How many lakhs (of *varāhas*) do the provinces of the Karnāṭaka kingdom yield ? How many forts (each) are there of the *giri*, *sthala*, *vana*, and *jala* class ? What is the total number of forts, towns, and villages in each of the provinces ? How much (cash) pertaining to each of the forts is (deposited) in the treasury ? " Further, he ordered the nine *saṃpratīs* that they should produce accounts in detail about cash, gems of nine kinds, jewels and hidden treasure ; the amount paid by the *maniagārs* of the simas and the balance remaining against their names ; and the number of *kaijitan* forces, horses, elephants and the retinue.

Therefore, Allālanātha of the Small Treasury submitted :

“ Heretofore, Vīra Narasimharāya did not examine the accounts. Your Majesty now wishes to inspect them. So we shall prepare such accounts as Your Majesty desires to see and produce them within a day or two.” Having prepared all the accounts overnight, he submitted them on the very next day.

The description of the Treasury.

(i) *Income* :—When Vidyārānya built this city (the money) which he buried for (the use) of the king amounts to 99,56,00,000, besides jewels worth 4,00,00,000, and gems of nine kinds 6,00,00,000 ; besides, the money which the previous kings after defraying the expenses of government deposited in the treasury amounts to 19,56,00,000. In addition to this, the amount which, after deducting from 10,84,00,000 of income of the kingdom of Karnāta, 60,00,000 pertaining to the *dēvadāya*, *brahmadāya*, *sarvamānya* and *mathapura* (villages) accrues to the treasury is 10,24,00,000.

(ii) *Expenditure* :

The cost of maintaining an armoured horse

		per day is	100 <i>ghats</i> *	
„	1,000 horses	„	1,00,000	„
„	24,000 horses	„	24,00,000	„
„	an elephant	„	1,000	„ †
„	120 elephants	„	120,000	„
„	1,500 elephants	„	?	
„	a foot-soldier per month is		2	„
„	1,000 „ „ „		2,000	„
„	2,00,000 „ per day is		4,00,000	„ ‡

* *Ghat* means a *ghātti varāha* equivalent to Rs. 4/- . It is improbable that the cost of maintaining a horse was 100 *ghats* per day. This must represent the annual cost.

† 1,000 *ghats* could not have been the daily cost. It must be the annual.

‡ The calculation, as it is given in the text, is wrong. The error is due to the scribe. When the expenditure on a foot-soldier is 2 *varāhas* per month, it could not have amounted to 4,00,000 for 2,00,000 foot-soldiers in a day.

According to this reckoning, to meet the daily expenditure of the forces maintained by the *amara-nāyakas* viz.,

* Horses	...	12,000
Elephants	...	?
Foot-soldiers	...	2,00,000

the territories dependent on such strong forts as Ādavāni, Ceyyētidurgam, Gutti, Gandikōṭa, Candragiri, Gurramkonda, Maddūru, Sōmagiri, Trisirapuram, Kunnattūru and Penukonda; such (land and water) strongholds as Nandyāla, Śrīraṅgapatṭanam, Ummattūru, Dalanāyakulakōṭa, Vallamkōṭa, Madhura, Pālayamkōṭa and Dīndigal; and such forest strongholds as Satyavīḍu, Kottikallu, Dankinikōṭa, and Narāyāṇavanam are mortgaged to the (*amara-nāyakas*) who are serving (Your Majesty). Though they obtained the districts mentioned in the accounts, they have not been maintaining (the required number of) elephants, horses, foot-soldiers and attendants according to the agreement. It is requested that Your Majesty may be pleased to consider this.

On hearing this, the Rāya commanded that the *karyikas* should prepare and submit a statement showing in detail how many elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and attendants each *amara-nāyaka* was required to maintain according to the registers of the government. Then, seeing that no accounts pertaining to elephants, horses, and troops maintained by the government, were submitted, he turned towards Appāji, Ayyamaraṇa and the other (ministers) and said: "What is your advice regarding the work which should be transacted in the future?" To this question none excepting Sāluva Timmarasa gave an answer. He hesitated a little, and said ambiguously: "We shall conduct (the affairs of state) according to the wishes of Your Majesty." The Rāya (was vexed); and he reflected: "They have only made me (their) agent to bear the burden of the kingdom. That is all. (The affairs) of the whole world are carried on by the counsellors; who heeds our words? If we act independently in exercising our authority,

* The number of elephants is not given. But see pp. 132 and 150.

nothing will be done owing to divided counsels. Therefore when the wise men of our court, having understood (what is good to the state) perform any work, we should be considered to have acted independently." In this manner he meditated deeply over the matter.

One day, the Rāya left the palace, as if he were going to inspect the city according to his custom. He reached a place at a distance of twenty miles where there was a temple, and asked the priest (*nambi*) for some water. (When the water was brought), he cleansed his teeth, washed his face, and put on the caste-mark. Then he obtained some cakes that had been previously offered to the deity, and having consumed them, sat in the place.

That morning Sāluva Timmarasa went according to his custom to the palace and enquired whether the Rāya had awakened from his sleep. He learnt from the *annagāls* *, nurses, house-maids and ladies-in-waiting that the Rāya who left the palace on the previous night for his customary inspection of the city had not yet returned. So, he ordered that they should inform all people who might inquire after the Rāya that owing to a headache he had not yet risen from his bed. Then he went to the front of the audience chamber, and seating himself there, he despatched spies in all directions to discover and report to him privately of the whereabouts of the Rāya. The spies made enquiries in all places. A spy who was an expert in making investigations came to Sāluva Timmarasa, and said that the king was sitting alone expectantly gazing towards the city in the temple of Pallikonda Ranganātha at a distance of twenty miles to the north of it. Appāji despatched at once letters to the nobles, chiefs, and *amara-nāyakas*, commanding that they should hasten with all their retainers to join the king who had started for hunting. And he himself left the city in advance of the rest. Consequently all the cavaliers, mahouts, foot-soldiers, attendants, nobles and chiefs who were in the city also started without delay.

* cf. Tam. ~~gālāvā~~ eunuch.

Timmarasa who reached the temple before others alighted from his palanquin at a distance of a bow-shot ; and having given orders to arrange the foot-soldiers, attendants, horses and elephants, in ranks he proceeded for a short distance accompanied by a few followers. Then he commanded them to stop outside the enclosure, and entered the precincts of the temple alone. The Rāya who observed the approach of Timmarasa, covered himself completely with his upper garment, and feigned sleep. Appāji stood by his side patiently with folded hands, until he awoke after a while from his pretended slumber. The Rāya then turning towards Appāji, said : " Why have you come here ? " Timmarasa interrupting him replied, " I went to the palace this morning according to my custom to inquire whether Your Majesty had awakened from sleep, having been totally ignorant of Your Majesty's arrival here directly from the usual search of the city last night. I was very much grieved to learn from the maids of honour and the *annagals* that Your Majesty did not return to the palace from the nocturnal investigations in the city. I despatched messengers in all directions ; and on learning from them that Your Majesty was here, I made up my mind that this incident should not be made public. Therefore, I sent letters to inform all captains and nobles that Your Majesty had started on a hunt and that they should hasten with their retainers to join the expedition. Further I informed them that according to the command which Your Majesty had issued at the time of departure I was hastening to join the hunt. Is it proper that Your Majesty should come in this fashion ? The city would have been ruined had the people known of this incident ; and it would have brought disgrace had it reached the ears of reputed warriors. An affair such as this is quite improper. Is it advisable that Your Majesty should embark on such a risky enterprise and come to this place ? "

When the Rāya heard Timmarasa's remonstrance couched in words which inculcated political wisdom and roused fear, he sarcastically replied : " How can such dangers arise when great

nen like you are ready to bear the burden of the kingdom ? You can make a blade of grass equivalent to Mount Mēru by holding it in your hand ; you can also treat that same Mēru as a blade of grass. You alone have the capacity to make the impossible possible."

Sāluva Timmarasa replied ambiguously : " It is even so ; or, the affairs of state are conducted in the present manner, because Your Majesty impels us to do everything by entrusting to us the responsibility in all matters. If we do not find favour with Your Majesty, we are (of little worth) like grass. If a sapphire attracts the straw, its value increases ; but if it fails to do so, its value decreases, as it is not believed to be flawless. Similarly, the servants derive their greatness from the majesty of the king ; and the king acquires fame by treating the servants as becoming their position." Then Timmarasa requested the king to return to the city.

The Rāya said, " Where is our sovereignty ? Who is inclined to submit to us ? What can we do with the people who do not obey us ? We are not capable of punishing them. How can a person who has no power to command govern the earth ? How can one maintain justice ? (Without power) we cannot put down the evil and uphold the good. So we will enter the city only after forming a plan by means of which we can enforce our authority ; otherwise we ought not to return."

The Rāya, having given expression to his ideas, sat thinking silently for some time. Sāluva Timmarasa, then said : " What Your Majesty has been pleased to say is perfectly true ; and it is also the right course of action. If, however, Your Majesty is pleased to state what we should do, then all affairs will, by Your Majesty's authority, be so arranged as to give Your Majesty complete satisfaction."

The Rāya replied : " You have made us sovereign ; then arrange the affairs in a manner suitable to the dignity of a supreme monarch. We used to listen, according to our custom, to the recital of the maxims on political

morality. One day we happened to hear a verse inculcating sound political wisdom. The idea that we should act according to the teaching of the verse had taken root in our mind ever since. Therefore, we resolved to organize an army larger than the forces of all the feudatory chiefs, and put down the Mussalmans (with its help). (The way to secure) this (end) is this. Nothing can be achieved without the *kaijītam* (army). Therefore, we must enter the city with a well-equipped *kaijītam* army comprising elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and attendants."

Sāluva Timmarasayya said in reply: "Is it necessary for Your Majesty to come in this fashion to secure such (a small) object; I shall acquire at this moment all the elephants, horses and foot-soldiers, in a manner most agreeable to Your Majesty's wishes. Your Majesty may return now with the fourfold Army."

Then, Sāluva Timmarasa summoned the captains, chiefs, *amara-nāyakas*, troopers of the army and the people of the seventy-two *niyōgas*, to an assembly; he also sent for the *kārnikas* of the *kandācāra* Department, whom he commanded to state the number of elephants, horses, and soldiers which the *amara-nāyakas* had to maintain.

The accountants submitted that the *amara-nāyakas* had to maintain 24,000 horse, 120 *ghats* of elephants and 2,00,000 foot-soldiers; and for maintaining this force, they were governing territories yielding an annual income of 4,80,00,000 *varāhas*, that is at the rate of 40,00,000 per month. When the accountants submitted their statement, the Rāya commanded, "You should take the muster of *amara* troops—elephants, horses, and men—before the expiry of the few (remaining) hours of to-day; and that for the elephants, horses and foot-soldiers falling short of the (prescribed number), you should calculate the balance which each *amara-nāyaka* has to pay for the ten years which elapsed since the accession of Vīra Narasimharāya, and collect the money due from them". In obedience of the royal command, the *kārnikas*

ame out. On taking the muster of horses and foot-soldiers they discovered that the former fell short (of the prescribed quota) by half and the latter by a fourth. Therefore, they demanded that the *amara-nāyakas* should pay the balance (due to the government) on the spot. As these (*nāyakas*) enjoyed their estates for a long time and obtained renown, they considered that it was enough if their fault was condoned; however, as they were not in a position to pay the money charged upon them, they proposed that they would sell their elephants and horses to the government to clear the balance standing against them, provided that they were allowed to hold their estates as before. They also promised that they would purchase elephants and horses afresh (to make up their respective quotas). The Rāya, having agreed to this proposal, he settled the price of the animals and took possession of them. The government acquired in this manner 500 elephants, 12,000 horses and 1,00,000 foot-soldiers with their officers. (Appāji) brought these elephants, horses and men before the Rāya, and said, "these forces may be utilised, as Your Majesty deems fit."

The Rāya having greatly wondered at (the resourcefulness of the minister) said to Appāji: "You alone possess the skill to make what is impossible possible". And (as a mark of his admiration) presented to him the *saptāṅga* of honour, viz., a cap, a cloak, necklace, ear-rings set with four pearls, a golden garment, sandal, musk, and *tāmbūla*. Then he appointed Tuluva mahouts (to drive) the *kaijītam* elephants, and Kabbili, Morasa, and Tuluva riders (to control) the horses. The Rāya then mounted on an elephant called Māsti Madahasti, equipped with golden howdah, and seating Sāluva Timmarasa behind him, entered the city of Vidyānagara, accompanied by the fourfold army. Having sent Sāluva Timmarasa and others home, he said to his friends: "Is it possible to find a minister like Appāji-Sāluva Timmarasa? Because we have such a minister, we acquired, as we desired, *kaijītam* forces during the course of a single day, when we declared obstinately that we would not enter the city until we acquired them. Having promised that

he would get them, he led before us 500 elephants, 12,000 horses and 1,00,000 foot, and said: 'Make use of them as you deem fit.' When we saw (the troops) we were greatly surprised. To provide ourselves with Karnāṭaka mahouts and riders with a view to wage war upon the Mussalmans in future, we place Kabbili, Morasa and Tuļuva troopers in charge of the 12,000 horse.' Praising (Sāluva Timmarasa) in this manner, he distributed* 12,000 horses and 500 elephants among (the troopers) and the mahouts, and fixed their salaries and allowances.† In order to supervise the proper distribution of provender, he appointed four *pārupatyagāras*, six *karaṇas*, sixteen *angajāds*, and *mudupugollas* over the stables, and issued an incontrovertible order that the daily expenses (of the establishment) should be borne by the treasury. He also appointed a body of *karayas* to regulate (the payment) of the monthly salary of 1,00,000 *nallaprāja*. The Rāya was greatly pleased, and said within himself. "Lordship and sovereignty have indeed been established to-day. Moreover all the *amaragārs* willingly made over the 500 elephants and 12,000 horses at a price without considering that any injustice was done to them. If we consider the value of the elephants, at the rate of 6,000 *varāhas* per animal, it amounts to 1,20,000 *varāhas* for twenty animals, and to 30,00,000 *varāhas* to 50 *ghaṭs*; the value of horses, at the rate of 500 *varāhas* per horse amounts to 2,00,000 *varāhas* per thousand, and 24,00,000 *varāhas* for 12,000 horses. He (Sāluva Timmarasa) brought within a moment, as it were, an income of 54,00,000 *varāhas* to the state from these elephants and horses.

Rāyavācakam, pp. 28-45.

139. RĀJANĪTI OF KRŚNADĒVARĀYA.

Protect the people, without losing patience at any time. Pay heed to the cry of the injured and redress their grievances. Do not entrust the execution of the (state) work to the wicked.

*The original has *vetsabētu* which means to spend.

†The original has *sārike*. The word is obsolete and its meaning is not intelligible.

The subjects of a state desire the prosperity of the king who wishes to promote the welfare of the state. It should not be said that the desire of the subjects is of no use (to the king); for, does not God, who is immanent in all the people from Brahmans downwards, fulfil their unanimous desire ? (2)

The king should have power to command ; even the commands of the chiefs of the *Ābhīrs* and the *Bhilis* are obeyed (at the sight of) an arrow or a string of yarn ;* should not all people fear the commands of a sovereign who is an emperor ? (3)

Entrust (the command of) the forts only to Brahmans in whom you have confidence ; and place no small forces under them, having in the plenitude of your power, lost the fear (of enemies). (4)

No one who is at first raised to a high position remembers his former humble condition, if he is subsequently reduced ; but becomes enraged. So, increase his status gradually observing his conduct ; and exact service from him on all possible occasions. (5)

If you desire to rule the kingdom, do not entertain in your service a man of low birth, a resident of the hamlet of the hunters, a person who has not learnt under a preceptor, an audacious liar, a murderer, an impudent and vicious fellow or a stranger, though he be a Brahman. (6)

Don't entertain (in your service) an outcaste and one who is brought up in a hamlet of the hunters (though he be a Brahman by birth). Did not formerly an outcaste Brahman kill for the sake of a single meal a heron that protected him ? † (7)

* The author alludes to the practice of the chiefs of wild tribes of giving a stranger an arrow or a string of yarn for safe conduct while passing through the tribal domain.

† The allusion is to the story of the outcaste Brahman, Gautama, and the crane, Nārājantha, narrated in the *Sāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

A single day is enough for the various branches of royal administration to obtain stability, provided a learned Brahman who is afraid of injustice, who has studied the principles of political science, who is above fifty and below seventy in age, and whose ancestors are free from (hereditary) disease is induced by the king to accept the office of the minister and discharge his duties. (8)

If such ministers cannot be had, a king should transact the business of the state himself, keeping in view the principles of political science, though he might not always be successful. If, on the contrary, being not disposed to remain content with (the power derived) from his wealth and army, he employs a wicked and uncontrollable person as minister, that minister not only causes annoyance but becomes, in course of time, the master of his master. (9-10)

It is desirable to employ several officers to do the work which may be done slowly by a single person ; for the work is quickly performed by these and all their dependents. Decrease in the number of the officers gives rise to grievance. Increase, on the contrary, causes contentment. (11)

No work can be transacted by the expenditure of money alone, without the willing co-operation of several nobles. Liberality, gentleness, and truthfulness are helpful in obtaining such co-operation. (12)

Have we not heard of the kingdoms which fell a prey to the enemy owing to the decay of the treasury and the army they had, because they could not secure the services of suitable men ? (13)

A king who confers nobility on a Brahman prospers ; for the Brahman stands at the post of duty even at considerable risk, either to avoid the ridicule of the Kṣatriya and Śūdra officers, or in emulation of the other Brahman officers in the king's service. (14)

Do not entrust (the administration of the properties) of temples and other (endowments) to the officer whom you

employ to collect the revenues due to you ; for, being anxious to collect money, he will make good any loss caused to the king's revenue from the income (of the temples and other endowments), and send it to the royal treasury. That is not good. So, appoint a separate officer (for the management of temple properties, etc). If he misappropriates some part of the income, he alone will be ruined. (15)

Like a farmer who, having at first taken possession of an (untilled) field, plants a hedge of thorns (around it) and then begins to season the soil by digging it with a spade and tearing up the roots, stumps, etc., (the king) should (first make himself the master of his territory) either by befriending the enemy or by strengthening his own frontier forts ; and having thus freed his mind from anxiety he should proceed to destroy the enemies within the kingdom. (16)

Do not expel a tale-bearer precipitately with harsh words. If, on careful investigation, you actually find him to be a liar, leave him alone without discharging him from his office. (17)

Grant temporarily to indigent foreign soldiers for their maintenance villages in the neighbourhood of inaccessible forests and hills, inhabited by savage tribes, who harass the neighbouring country. Whatever may be the character of their mutual relations, it will be quite proper, (i.e. to your advantage). (18)

Moreover, the affliction of the people cannot be reduced, until the power of these mountaineers is brought under the control of the crown. The king should somehow dispel their fear, and draw them towards him. Distrust or faith, anger or love, bitter hostility or intimate friendship (with them) arises out of small causes, as these people are of limited intelligence. For instance,— (19)

(Once) a hunter armed with bow (and arrows) paid a visit to another hunter who entertained him by feeding him with milk and rice. The visitor who noticed a pot (on the hearth)

in which fibre was boiling believed that it contained meat.* (Considering that his host had insulted him) the guest, forgetting the hospitality, resolved to kill him at a suitable place when the former came to give him a send off. On the way, however, when the host sought his permission to go home soon, lest the fibre which was boiling in the pot should be spoilt, did not the hunter send his host away, having realised his own mistake? (20)

These forest dwellers who are pleased even with that repast of milk and rice, never act treacherously (towards him who has fed them). If these unsophisticated men discover even a very small fault, they become hostile without considering the nature of the fault. (21)

(A king) acquires mastery over the forest tribes by truth ; the friendship of a hostile king by honouring the envoy ; the regard of his foot-soldiers by timely payment of salary and the affection of his troopers by offering service with rewards. (22)

Give the best horses and elephants only to trusted servants ; it will be to your advantage when the occasion comes. Keep the horse and elephant stables with care ; you should never entrust their management to your subordinates. (23)

When one (councillor) gives good advice, another condemns it on account of jealousy. Paying due regard to the character of both (the councillors), you must not contradict either of them (during the sitting of the council) ; but when the council is dissolved, if you follow the good advice, it is advantageous to you. (24)

The bad or faithless ministers take advantage of the hostility of the neighbouring states and encourage the free-booters in the country. When the king is caught in difficulties they do not discharge their duties promptly ; but having

*The boiling fibre of the *Zri* tree is said to emit a flavour like that of mutton while cooking.

spread their influence everywhere, they conduct themselves in such a manner as to make it appear that they alone are the protectors (of the king). (25)

(The bad ministers) persuade (the king) to offer (rewards) to their own dependents ; and dissuade him from rewarding others. Moreover, they induce him to promise (rewards) to the people, but prevent the fulfilment, so that the people, believing him to be undependable, might not approach him. (26)

If a (capable) outsider is made an equal of these (bad ministers), he will check their power like a powerful drug which strengthens the appetite spoilt by the union of *kapha* and other diseases. (27)

You may ask how (an outsider) could be made equal to them in the teeth of their opposition. (28)

If a wise and powerful monarch keeps his treasury and the horses and the elephants in his stables under his control, does not the obstruction (caused by the evil ministers) vanish by itself? (29)

(The dependents who serve a king) wish him evil, if even a morsel is decreased in their food. Has a king (really) any friends ? Is it wise to loosen your hold on the shoulder of the man by your side ? You should, on the contrary, skilfully make him walk by your side (without relinquishing your hold). You must not trust him, though you have to deal with him kindly. (30)

From the fact that a person does not loath an (evil) deed, estimate the nature of his other actions ; (for instance), when king Drupada requested a sage to perform a sacrifice for compassing the death of some person, the sage replied that his elder brother would comply with the king's request, as he observed him on one occasion picking up a fruit lying on filthy ground, which he himself had abandoned in disgust*. Thus it is possible from (observation) of one (action) to know

* The allusion is to the story of Yāja and Upayāja in the *Adiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

the whole conduct. It is not possible (for any one) to observe all (actions) and estimate (a person's character). (31)

Do not kill a person who takes advantage of your difficulties to do you evil, when you win victory; but wrest (from him) his wealth. What harm can a serpent do, when the sharpness of its fangs is destroyed? Your enemy will be loyal to you for the kindness which you show him. (32)

The extent of the kingdom is the means for the acquisition of wealth. (Therefore), even if the land is limited (in extent), excavate tanks and canals and increase the prosperity of the poor (cultivator) by leasing him the land for low *ari* and *kōru*, so that you may obtain wealth as well as (religious) merit. (33)

The king, having an officer who acts like the jackal on the battle-field, does not persuade the impoverished cultivators migrating (from his district) to return, and wants to sell their cattle and grain and utilise the timber of their houses as fuel, that king cannot enrich himself, though he may conquer the seven islands (i.e. the whole world). (34)

A king should reserve one-fourth of his income for charity and personal expenses, half for the maintenance of a powerful army; and store (the remaining) fourth in (his) well-filled treasury. He should watch, by means of his spies, not only his enemies but the other six members of the state including the ministers. He should destroy the bandits in his own kingdom. (35)

A king should punish a thief, discovering him with the aid of a well-cherished band of policemen. If, on the contrary, he inflicts punishment on an innocent person whom the police substitute for a runaway thief, does he not acquire disrepute like the king who had the corpulent merchant impaled? (36)

A king proficient in political science should learn three-fourths (of what he has to know) by his own efforts;

he remaining fourth relating to things happening without his knowledge, from his friends and well-wishers. (Having acquired knowledge) in this manner, if he carries on the government without anger and cruelty in meting out punishment he can rule (the earth) without difficulty for a long time. (37)

A king, while enjoying pleasures (*bhōgas*), should watch his internal and external (foes), even as the bear which sleeps in the top of the tree closes only one eye, keeping the other open. (38)

Gifts of money and of villages made from love of learning o the *bhikṣus*, and the ascetics with matted-hair encourage them o break their vows ; their evil deeds have bad consequences such as famine, epidemics, and infant-mortality. (Therefore), devotion (to them) is enough. Their disappointment does not cause you any harm. You need not entertain doubts about t. (39)

Give the guilty persons who deserve death three opportunities for begging pardon ; but those whose flight is likely o cause trouble must be put to death as soon as they are caught. (40)

Though the king is himself a brave warrior, he must listen, without impatience, to the brag of his warriors. By that, they are greatly pleased. His object must be to manifest his prowess through their brave deeds. (41)

A king should govern his ports so as to increase their trade by encouraging the import of horses, elephants, gems, sandal, pearls etc. ; he should offer protection suited to the conditions of their race to people who migrate from other countries, owing to famine, pestilence, and (other) calamities ; —he should send his faithful servants to superintend his gardens, cattle pens and mines. (42)

Like an archer, who, holding the arrow steadily (in the bow), discharges it when he feels sure of his mark, a king should control his wrath against a criminal until the circumstances become favourable for his destruction. (43)

Like the water that stagnates until it is set in motion by the arrival of a flood, an invader's forces should march by short stages, for a few days, so that they may get impetus gradually by their conjunction with his other troops. If the enemy's troops are numerous, he should return (to his capital) having honoured the enemy with presents. If, on the contrary, he learns from the spies that the enemy is weak, he should surround him without allowing him to escape. (44)

On discovering that his enemy extorts money (from his subjects), consults despicable persons, makes peace (with other kings) by surrendering territory, and treats with suspicion people that have done him good, a king should create differences between him and his subordinate chiefs by secret offers to the latter of protection and of jewels set with gems. He should also free himself from these faults. (45)

A king should acquire the lasting friendship of his enemy by surrendering, if necessary, even one half of his kingdom, and free himself from the fear of internal enemies. The fear of the internal enemy is, indeed, greater than the fear of a serpent. (46)

What is the use of needless discussion ? If a king does not destroy the hidden enemies of his kingdom having discovered them by thorough investigation, and move about fearlessly like a man in the midst of women, what is the fruit of his sovereignty ? does kingship beget only misery ? (47)

It is proper that a king should, without coercion, induce a strong (neighbour) who keeps himself aloof from fear, to join him voluntarily like an angler, who having allowed a big fish to struggle with the line pulls it up (when it swallows the bait). (48)

A king should avoid (the following) :—Cruelty in punishment, blind faith in the words of tale-bearers, obstinate refusal to conclude peace with an enemy ; causing injury to a stranger who informs him of the harm done to him by other (kings) ;

transacting business in such a manner as to enable a minister opposed to his interests to know (his motives); transacting business with a person who is known to be faithless; causing the estrangement of a loyal person; attaching importance to persons while discussing the affairs of state; indifference in punishing persons publishing state secrets; negligence to seek ways and means of averting (the evil results of) unnatural occurrences; indifferent treatment of respectable persons; fellowship with the mean; addiction to the (seven) *vyasanas*, and vindictiveness. (49)

When three kinds of unnatural phenomena* occur, a king should in order to avert their evil consequences, spend large sums of money in feeding Brahmans and offering worship to the gods and performance of *hōma* to Agni. (50)

Kings should foster rivalry among their nobles and warriors so that their activities, loyal or otherwise, might not be hidden. Moreover, by competing with one another to obtain the royal favour by performance of loyal services, they abstain from disloyal activities. (51)

A king should not march in person against all places. He should appoint another (person) commander (of the army) and despatch him (against the enemy), so that he (the king) might take rest. The commander, if he is weak, having no money, land, elephants and horses, cannot defeat the enemy. So, (the king) should give him territory well protected by forts and troops. If these are given to any one but a Brahman, he may turn against the king himself. However, (the services of) the non-Brahmans are also quite essential. (52)

Foster the growth of dense forests on the frontiers; and cause the destruction of jungles in the midst of your kingdom, so that (the people) may not be harassed by bandits. (53)

The attempt to enumerate the crimes of savage tribes inhabiting the hilly tracts is to endeavour to wash the dirt off

a wall built of mud. Punishment cannot completely eradicate their crime. If they are brought under control by an agreement and gifts, they are helpful in invading (an enemy's country), and plundering the frontiers. A king who exercises his authority over all cannot contemplate the punishment of a thousand for the crimes of a hundred. (54)

Acquire the friendship of merchants of distant islands who import elephants and horses, by granting them villages, spacious houses in the capital, frequent audience, presents, and (facilities to secure) good profits, so that they (the elephants and horses) may not reach your enemies. (55)

A king should converse in the audience hall amicably with the ambassadors representing his neighbouring kings. He should explain to his dependents the neglected obligations (which his neighbours) owed him, and his desire to make war upon them. While doing this, he should talk euphemistically so as to preserve the (apparent) friendship. (56)

A person who has been recently made a noble should not be admitted (to participate) in the secret deliberations (of the council); for being elated by his new position, he reveals (the secrets) to his friends; thus he ruins the chances of the success (of the enterprise), thereby compassing his own downfall. (57)

A king who appoints as the governors of his forts honest, loyal and warlike Brahmans learned in the Vēdas, and dependent upon his family for generations; who stores up in his forts provisions including rarities sufficient to last for a lifetime; who distributes lands among his nobles without transgressing the bounds of moderation; who, spending less than his income, replenishes the treasury without oppressing his subjects; who, having watched the condition of his weak enemy by means of spies, swallows him crane-wise; and who causes harm to the enemy without trouble to himself and his subjects; that king sleeps placing his hand upon his heart, i.e., peacefully. (58)

That money which is spent on the purchase and the maintenance of elephants and horses, the payment of salaries to the soldiers, the distribution of gifts to Brahmans and Gods, and securing the personal comforts of the king, should not be considered a waste of public funds. (59)

A king should not take a vow (to make war upon) an enemy. By marching with his army (upon the enemy), he may attain his object, or he may fail; or his desire may be fulfilled, on some future occasion, though not at that time. Is the king a politician or a lover of war? (60)

If a king attacks an enemy (whom he desires to conquer) in places from which he cannot escape, he is obliged to turn round and offer battle, when he may either win a victory or die the death of heroes. The king (should not approach) the walls (of the enemy's forts) which are protected by several (death-dealing) machines, but send only his men instead to attack them. (61)

Kings generally summon for consultation a person who has given congenial advice on one or two occasions. Taking advantage of the influence acquired by frequent consultations, he is likely to induce the king, having received bribes, to do improper deeds. (Therefore) a king should, by means of his spies, examine his conduct outside (the council). (62)

If a king feels confident that he can effect the destruction of his neighbour on the frontier, it is only proper that he should do so. Otherwise he should befriend him. If he becomes hostile, his neighbour (on the other side) is the proper person to subdue him. Then (the king's) frontier becomes secure without effort. (63)

Burn the kingdom of your enemy and seize his forts. If his wives happen to fall into your hands, treat them as you would treat your sisters and daughters. In the presence of his envoys, do not utter harsh words about him, for you may be obliged to conclude peace with him. (64)

Do not enter a country where the devotees of black-magic abound, the water is poisonous, epidemics prevail, the hills and jungles are impassable, and the savages dwell, although you may obtain gold as large as the Mēru ; despatch only your troops to subjugate it. (65)

A false servant, speaking sweetly, cleverly secures his object ; he serves you while (you are) prosperous, but deserts you when your fortune is low. (Therefore) the king should learn to discriminate between (the true and the false) like the money-changer who detects the good and the bad coins. (66)

A king who desires to rule long should gather around him expert mineralogists, and discovering (by their assistance) places where gold and other metals are found, acquire them ; he should take only a small portion of the income of his subjects as tax, and suppress, by inflicting punishment, the violence of the mighty ; he should with kindness protect all (people) and (maintain) the order of the castes putting an end to irregular practices ; he should always show respect to Brahmins, and increase or decrease the population of the different districts of his kingdom, according to their conditions : and, without forgetting to destroy his petty enemies, he should nourish the (seven) members of his sovereignty, even as he would the limbs of his own body.* (67-a)

A king who desires to live long should gather around him physicians cognizant of *dhātus* (*vāta*, *pitta* and *ślesma*), take the medicines such as *svarṇa-bhāṣma*, prepared by them and eat such food is calculated to nourish the body. He should get rid of the excess of *vāta* in his body by means of massage. He should take the *abhyangana* and nourish all the limbs of the body ; he should get rid of greyness and discolouration (of the skin), having removed the defects (that cause them) ; he should endeavour to strengthen his teeth, develop all the parts of the body according to their proportion ; he should attempt

to impart lustre to the body and keep it under control without showing negligence in examining (its diseases). (67-b)

It is desirable that a king should give audience to *saukhasāyanikas**, physicians and Brahman astrologers early in the morning ; after (the first) *yāma* he should be in the company of his ministers and nobles as well as the accountants (*kāyasthas*) who are employed to acquire wealth ; he should spend the midday in the company of massagers, wrestlers, cooks and hunters ; and in the *aparāhṇa*,† having offered worship to the household gods, he should converse with elders, judicial officers, and ascetics ; after dinner he should talk with the jester and listen to the *paurāṇikas* and the poets ; he should give audience to the spies and the musicians during the evening ; and he should enjoy the company of his queen at night, and then go to sleep. (68)

Viewed from the standpoint of the king, (his) servants always fall into three classes, *viz.*, friends (*hitulu*), friends and enemies by turns (*hitāhitulu*) and constant enemies (*sadāhitulu*). I shall describe them (to you) O ! Sinless one, listen ! (69)

Physicians, astrologers, learned men, poets, and *purōhits* are friends ; the people employed (by the king) for the collection of revenue and discharging other duties are both friends and enemies (according to circumstances) ; and the people who are desirous of getting back the wealth confiscated by the king (by way of punishment) are (his) perpetual enemies. Therefore, it is only right that the king should skilfully conduct himself towards them according to their disposition. (70)

Having carefully observed a worthy person, it is desirable that (a king) should, without being asked or told, astonish him by offering him (gifts) like the appearance of the fruits of a jack tree,‡ and (wealth) in a dream. (71)

* *Saukhasāyanikas* are people who ask one : "Have you slept happily?"

† *Aparāhṇa* is the time between 12 noon and 3 p.m.

‡ The poet here alludes probably to a species of a jack tree called *Vṛipalā* which bears fruits in its roots. The fruits emerge out of the ground suddenly, when they are full grown.

According to the injunctions of the Vēdas, the worship of the *pitr̄s* is more important than that of the Gods. Therefore, being devoted to (the service of) the *pitr̄s*, give (the offerings of the *śrāddha*) to the devotees of Viṣṇu who have attained tranquillity by the study of the Vēdas, and the practice of virtue and *tapas*. (72)

Give alms for the protection of Brahmans; acquire knowledge for the protection of the self; and take refuge with great devotion under Nārāyaṇa; for you cannot escape hell which surely awaits you at the end of your reign by any other means. (73)

The devotion of a wife to her husband, the observance, by men and women, of the rule of consanguinity, the control of the self of the ascetic, the obedience of the lower to the upper castes, and the faithfulness of the servant to the master, are all due to the fear of the punishment inflicted by the king. (74)

Strangely enough, (the king) maintains law (*dharma*) by killing (criminals); observes *brahmacharya* by having intercourse with his wife (on proper occasions); becomes truthful by uttering falsehood (in order to save the life of another); fasts by eating (only twice a day); becomes a hero by avoiding (fight with elders), and rich by spending money (on good deeds). (75)

A spy should be the resident of the king's capital; he should know (several) languages, and be unknown to other spies. Moreover, he should bear no external marks of identity and be able to give money beyond the expectations of others (in obtaining information). (Unless he is enabled by the king) to spend so much money, he will not enter the profession. (76)

As the king, is attached to (such luxuries) as massage, bath, food, unguent, dress, flowers, etc., suitable to the seasons he should acquire the merit derived from ascetic practices, by gifts of money only. (77)

As the food consumed by the king consists of several delicacies, it is desirable that he should dine either at *aparāhṇa*

or while his stomach is quite empty. Food consumed in hunger is very salutary. (78)

Listen! A king should treat the three *vargas* (*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*) alike. If, perchance, the share of *dharma* increases, he should feel happy like a farmer who finds his rice-field unexpectedly irrigated with the water lifted into another's field, through a breach in the ridge. (79)

Purchase gems which increase splendour so that you should appear radiant; for, they are necessary in order to enhance the dignity of your appearance. A king should wear (a separate set of) gems and jewels on every day of the week. (80)

You should not think: "Our work is to govern the kingdom. (It necessarily involves sin.) Then, how can we get rid of sin?" Even the *Vēda* does not enjoin you to do the impossible. It (only) commands you (to rule justly) to the best of your abilities. (81)

Manu, *Dandadhabra* and others were known as righteous rulers, as they punished (the criminals) having understood their guilt well. Unless an anointed sovereign, who has been created by *Prajānātha* for the purpose of governing the people, who is known by the Vedic names *Virūṭ* and *Samrāṭ* and who is equal to god—removes the troubles of the earth enduring hardships, can his birth be said to be fruitful? Do not the bandit chiefs satisfy their sensual desires by raping captive women and with the wealth obtained by attacking caravans of merchants? You should not consider the protection of the earth a trouble, and be indifferent to it, for, formerly in the *Kṛta* age, *Sahasrabāhu*, the son of *Kṛtavīrya*, punished (the wrong doers), appearing with sword, club, bow and other weapons before them at all places and times in this earth protected well by his mighty arms. It is not possible for the kings of this last Kali age who are feeble in keeping with it, to punish (evil) in that manner..... Therefore, you should carry on (the work of) protection and punishment, according to your ability, without being indifferent to what you have

heard and seen. Regarding what is impossible, put your trust in the God Pūndarīkākṣa, the protector of the suppliants, and conduct yourself humbly. Then, all your objects become easily attainable. A crowned monarch should govern the state, keeping *dharma* in view.....

Amuktamālyada, 4. 204 ff.

140. ACYUTARĀYA AND RĀMARĀJA.

As Kṛṣṇarāya had no male issue, he gave his daughter in marriage to Rāmarāja whom he appointed Yuvarāja ; but at the time of his death, he bequeathed his kingdom to Acyuta, the son of his elder brother, and nominated Rāmarāja as Yuvarāja. After some time, Rāmarāja made himself the king and began to rule the kingdom in his own right.*

Kaifiyat of Penugonda, Mac. *Mss.* 15-6-8, pp. 2-3

141. ACYUTARĀYA'S VICTORIES.

The king of kings, Acyutarāya, sat in his durbar on his jewelled-throne in the manner of (Śrī) Kṛṣṇa, surrounded by the kings of Utkala, Yavana, and Āndhra. A chrysolite surpassing the splendour of the Sun which was set in the pendant of his necklace shone upon his breast ; a fine yellow silk nether garment embroidered with golden lace in which he was dressed lent grace to his person ; a superior cap set with gems of brilliant lustre was more charming than the crown ; and the (caste) mark of musk (on his face), and the garland of flowers around his neck) gave a banquet to the bees.

Nañjarasa-Timmarasa, the minister of king Acyutarāya who defeated the Tiruvadi, crowned the king of the Pāndyas, showed mercy to the lord of Utkala, offered protection to the Savāyi who made obeisance to him and acquired glory, deserves praise.

Tārakābrahmārājīyam: *Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Lib.*, R. No. 347.

* Acyuta, of course, was not a nephew of Kṛṣṇarāya, but his half-brother. Such confusion, however, is commonly met with in the village chronicles.

142. THE GAJAPATI INVASION.

When the Gajapati, keeping in mind his former enmity marched on Ānegondi after the death of Kṛṣṇarāya and Rāmappaya, some elders living in the city, wrote to him a letter telling him that his arrival after the death of Kṛṣṇarāya whom he could not defeat did not betoken his bravery. The Gajapati thereupon regretted his action and returned to his capital.

Account of the Narapati Kings: L. R. 50, p. 315.

143(a). GANI TIMMĀ NĀYADU.

SUMMARY.

These verses describe the exploits of Gani Timmā Nāyadu of the Velugōti family who appears to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Acyuta.

The first verse refers to Timma's capture of the fort of Toṇḍamārayagulla for which he was complimented by Acyutadēvarāya. He destroyed the Mussalman infantry which sought to cross the frontier, and won a victory over Yara Timma.

In the second verse it is said that at the instance of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, he defeated a chief called Linga, who was a son of Bhikṣāvṛtti Mukti Śāntaya. He inflicted a defeat on Honnappa Nāyadu of Kandanavōlu; put to flight Śānta, son of Viraya, and won a victory over Jāya at Nannūru; he slew Timma of Cēbrōlu at Mattaceruvu, and routed Bhairava Khān on the field of Rompicerla. Having defeated Khānakhāna, Hita Khān and others in battle, he deprived them of the territories over which they ruled. Sūra, the son of Sūri Nāyadu, having heard of the death of the chiefs of the Āndhra country at his hands in the plain of Mallāpura was afraid to face Timma in battle.

The third verse refers, in addition to some of the exploits mentioned above, to Timma's victory over Yēdula Khān (the Adil Khān).

The last verse describes the victory of Timma over some feudatory chiefs, who were the subordinates of the king of Karnāṭa at some place on the slopes of the Śrīparvata, and alludes to some threat which he held out to Rāmarāja.

Velugōṭivāri Vanisāvaṭi, vv. 230, 231, 233, 240.

143(b).

At the time when Timmā Nāyaḍu was governing his principality, Timmarāju, the chief of Putṭakōṭa on the Gundlakamma, invaded, with the assistance of his brothers, Kondarāju, Nāgarāju and Annamarāju, the district of Palnādu and Gurijāla, and carried away the cattle. He plundered the districts of Vinukonḍa, Tangella, Podile, Ammanavōlu, Udayagiri, Siruvella, and Siddhāpuram, and obstructed people from travelling along the road at Nandikanama. Moreover, he seized a fort belonging to the Rāya.

Gani Timmā Nāyaḍu was commanded by Acyutarāya to attack Timmarāju and put an end to him with all his followers. Timmā Nāyaḍu proceeded to Putṭakōṭa, where he met Timmarāju in battle and slew him with all his followers. He then marched against Tonḍamārayagulla, and captured it. In recognition of his services, Acyutadēvarāya bestowed favours upon him. Timmā Nāyaḍu slew the Muhammadan chiefs Bhairava Khān, Khān Khān, and Hitya in a battle at Rompicerla, and seized their territory with the consent of Acyutadēvarāya and ruled over them. He won a victory over a confederacy of Āndhra feudatories at Mallāpuram. Sūra Nāyaḍu, the son of Sūri Nāyaḍu, fled from the country when he heard that Timmā Nāyaḍu was advancing upon him and the latter seized his territory.

Moreover, while Timmā Nāyaḍu was governing the country in the neighbourhood of the Śrīsaila mountain, several feudatory chiefs having resolved to attack him, requested Rāmarāja to grant them permission. Rāmarāja was astonished at their audacity gave them permission with the object of humiliating them. The feudatory chiefs marched to Mallāpuram at the head

of 30,000 infantry and 7,000 horse, where they met a large army comprising mainly of the *Bōyas* and the *Cencus* under Timmā Nāyadū. A fierce engagement took place in which Timmā Nāyadū slew several chiefs such as Rāvilla Timmanna, Kōnēti Timmayya, Ceruvūri Nārāyaṇa, Pērūri Nāyadū and Kōṇḍa Singayya and Appayya; the remaining chiefs fled from the field in confusion. This battle was fought on Sunday, Bhādrapada śu 8,* Virōdhi, corresponding to S. S. 1452. Some years after this victory, Āvali Ābalarāju slew Timmā Nāyadū, taking advantage of a difficult situation in which he found himself.

Velugōtiāvāri Vāṁśacaritra, pp. 83-5.

143(c).†

SUMMARY.

Velugōti Cinna Timma (*i.e.*, Gani Timmā Nāyadū) who was governing the region about the Śrīsaila hill was commissioned (probably by Acyutadēvarāya) to subdue the petty chiefs that were holding the country between the Kṛṣṇā, the Kollēru and the eastern sea. He set out from Kōṇḍavīdu in the morning and arrived in due time at Darśi to inspect the military preparations in the forts; when he reached Kārrallā on Sunday, Bhādrapada śu 8‡ Virōdhi, he found an army of 30,000 foot and 7,000 horse comprising the contingents of the *Kamma* and *Kāpu* chiefs drawn up in battle array in the maidan outside the village of Mallāpuram. On seeing this host Timmā Nāyadū gave the order for battle and a fierce fight ensued.

The following chiefs opposed Timmā Nāyadū in this battle:—

1. Rāvela Timmayya.
2. Pērūri Nāyadū.

* The date is wrong; the Śaka and cyclic years do not coincide. S. S. 1452 corresponds to Vikṛti and not Virōdhi. Neither in Virōdhi nor in Vikṛti does Bhādrapada śu 8 fall on a Sunday.

† This poem was evidently composed by a Bhat who was a dependent of Timmā Nāyadū to celebrate his master's victory over the Andhra feudatories.

‡ Bhādrapada śu 8 was not Sunday but Thursday.

3. Kōnēti Timmayya.
4. Rāvela Singu.
5. Appayya.
6. The son of Yāra Kōndu.
7. Cintalaceruvu Sūri.
8. Abbaya Sūru.
9. Baruva Rāghava Reddi of Dupād.
10. Rāvela Pōtinēdu.
11. Rāvela Basvinēdu.
12. Nārayya.
13. Timma of Cendalūru.
14. Ūdanirāvi Parvatayya.
15. Kañcakanṭe Sarvana.
16. Kākandi Tirumalu.
17. Yenumula Basavana.
18. Kilāri Kōndu Kōnaya.
19. Cintagumpalli Mācugangana.
20. Muppālla Mācana.
21. Rāvela Mācu.
22. Agastyareddi Mallu.
23. Gatulabhāgam Mallu.
24. Kañci.
25. Payyāla Pāpayya.
26. Janyāla Citi Rāmu.
27. Sabala Tippānēdu.
28. Potlapalli Lakṣmaya Lingu.
29. Yega Vōju Aubhala.
30. Jāsti Pinambu.
31. Dhūlipālepū Mallu.
32. Sangā Mallu.
33. Kilāri Venkatayya.

34. Unnava Gōpu.
35. Maddi Mallu.
36. Bollēpalli Singarayya.
37. Ambarasu.
38. Cintalacervu Yellinēdu.
39. Bukkaya Timma.
40. Cintalacerla Nāyadu.
41. Adusupali Rāmaya.
42. Adusupali Kasvi Nēdu.
43. Parvata Mācana.

Of these 43 chiefs, the first seven were killed in the battle, and the rest took to their heels. Timmā Nāyadu massacred their followers and plundered their camp. Much booty fell into his hands. As he was unwilling to continue the massacre of the fleeing forces of the enemy, he gave an order for blowing the trumpet of charity (*dharmadāra*),* on the border of Dūpādu in the neighbourhood of Mārkāpūr fort. This act is said to have been witnessed by the Gods of Śrīsaila and Ahōbāla, Virabhadra of Mallāpura, the dancing Tripura of Irugulasāni, the Gundlakammā near the village of Rēnugu, Bhairava of the Tāraka Hill, and the Tank of Tenungurāya.

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, pp. 124-9.

144. ACYUTARĀYA'S PATRONAGE OF LITERATURE.

By the grace of that king (Acyuta), Nañjarasu Timma of *Kandācāram* (the military stores department), obtained renown and prosperity.

One day that minister having attended the court of Acyutadēvarāya, the sovereign of the earth that was bounded by the four seas, returned and held a durbar at his residence attended by all his relations, learned men, poets, *Vandis* and *Māgadhas*, songsters and dancing women living in the capital

**Dharmadāra* is the trumpet blown on the battle-field as a signal for stopping the slaughter of the enemy by the victor.

Vijayanagara in front of the *candraśāla* of his palace. At that time, he told me (the author) that his master Acyutadēvarāya was accustomed to offer every year to God Veṅkaṭēśvara a handful of flowers with a beautiful *Kāvyaprabandha* and was acquiring merit and glory thereby. By the Rāya's command he requested me to compose a religious poetical work and dedicate it to his favourite deity Śrī Rāma so that prosperity and the four kinds of *Puruṣārthas* might accrue to him as well as his master.

Tārakabrahmarājīyam: *Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Lib.* ; R. No. 347.

145. RĀMARĀJU TIMMA'S SONS.

SUMMARY.

Timma married four wives, *viz.*, Sedṭamamma, Lakṣmīdēvi, Gōpamadēvi and Tirumaladēvi. Of these, the first wife Sedṭamamma gave birth to Konḍarāju, Tirumalarāju, Appalarāju and Rāmarāju.

Appalarāju defeated Savā and Barid in a fierce battle at Kūrakacerla, and won the admiration of kings by entering the world of the gods having at first pierced through the orb of the Sun.

Dvipada-Balabhāgavatam: *Mac. MSS. 13-2-19*, pp. 286-7.

146. SĀRI AHŌBALĀ NĀYADU.

SUMMARY.

Sāri Ahōbalā Nāyadu who was born after the massacre of all his kindred by Āravīti Bukkarāju-Rāmarāju, was brought up by the *Yānādis*, a wild tribe living in the jungles of Ahōbalām. The *Sthānapati* of the Ahōbalām temple, who discovered the identity of the boy, took much interest in him. During the course of one of his visits to the court of Acyutadēva Mahārāya at Vijayanagara, taking advantage of an accidental reference to the destruction of the Sāri family, the *Jiyar* informed the Rāya that a scion of the family still existed, and if His Majesty desired to see him, he would produce him before the court in a short time.

The Rāya expressed his desire to see the boy. Thereupon the *Jiyar* having brought him to Vijayanagara, introduced him to the Rāya who was pleased to bestow favour upon him. Several officers who formerly served the Sāri family, now joined the young chief who became a courtier.

Acyuta had to lead an expedition in S. S. 1457 Manmatha, against Gutti, where a certain chief called Timmā Nāyadū rose up in rebellion. Ahōbalapati Nāyadū joined the expedition with all his retainers. The royal army soon reached Gutti, and having surrounded the fort attacked the defenders vigorously. Ahōbalapati Nāyadū with his men crept over the wall, and hoisted his flag on one of the towers. Encouraged by his example, the troops scaled the walls on all sides and entered the fort which soon fell into their hands.

Acyutadēva Mahārāya, who was greatly pleased by the victory, summoned Ahōbalapati to his presence, and granted to him as a reward for his meritorious services the right of policing the whole of the *sīma* of Gutti; but Ahōbalapati was not satisfied with what he got. He, therefore, requested the Rāya to grant him the rights and privileges enjoyed by his ancestors. Acyuta acceded to the request, and bestowed upon him the titles and privileges of his forefathers. In addition to this, he granted him the right of collecting *mānēkāvali* in the *sīmas* of Gutti, Cāngalamarri, Ahōbalam, Kandukūru, Dampūr, Jambulamadaka, Gāndikōṭa and Sirivolla at the rate of 10 *ga* in every 100 *ga*, and a *mānya* of 2 *tūms* in every *putti* of land.

Kaifiyat of Mutyālapādu: L.R. 56, pp. 45 ff; Mac. MSS. 15-3-52, pp. 72 ff.

147. PERIYA RĀMAPPA.

SUMMARY.

Periya Rāmappa who is said to have been the lion of Upanūr, was the son of Gōlla Basava of Pippāla-*gōtra* and an elder brother of Cinna Rāmappa. He was a friend or companion of Vākili Cinnabhūvara, and a disciple of the famous Madhva teacher Vyāsatīrtha. He bore the titles of *Parasatīdara*, and *Svāmidrōharaganda* and claims to have been the

valorous right arm of Acyutarāya, and an upholder of his warlike activities.

Cokkanātha Caritra: Madras. Gov. Or. MSS. Lib. D. No. 1051

148. ACYUTADEVARĀYA.

SUMMARY.

Then Acyutarāya was crowned in S.S. 1456 and ruled for 8 years until S. S. 1463. Rāmaya Bhāskara, whom he appointed as the governor of Kondāvīdu, built a fort called Māvulakōṭa at the foot of the old hill fort on the west with the material of the ruined palaces and temples of the time of the Reddis. He also built within this fort a town and a beautiful shrine dedicated to the God Gōpinātha. At that time, the seventy-two *pālaigārs* who held the district, on account of contumaciousness, rose up in rebellion and created much confusion in defiance of the government. Being convinced that it was not possible to subdue them except by peaceful methods, Rāmaya Bhāskara had recourse to a strategem. Around the temple of Gōpinātha he erected a *prākāra* within which he excavated a deep well on the north side of the shrine. When the work of the temple was completed he sent invitations to all the *pālaigārs* requesting them to be present on the occasion of the festival in the temple. He arranged that when the *pālaigārs* came to the temple, they should be admitted into it through the eastern gate one by one; and while being led out of it through the northern gate, they should be pushed into the well suddenly. He destroyed the seventy-two *pālaigārs* in this fashion, and restored peace in the country. Then he named the new town Gōpinātharam after the principal deity of the place and constructed temples to Gods Navanīta Kṛṣṇa, Mūlasthānēśvara and Angāḍi Virabhadra. Moreover, he inflicted a defeat on a large Mussalman force, and ruled the Āndhra-mandala in great glory.*

Kaifiyat of Kondāvīdu: Mac. MSS. 15-4-40, pp. 20-22.

* The *Kaifiyat* comes to an end with an appropriate quotation of a Telugu verse in *sāra* metre extracted from an inscription of Rāmaya Bhāskara found in the temple of Gōpinātha.

The verse simply alludes to the exploits of Rāmaya Bhāskara, a subordinate of Acyutadevarāya, who built a temple to the God Gōpinātha, won a victory over the Mussalmans and ruled Āndhra-mandala in great glory.

149. RĀMAYA BHĀSKARA.

SUMMARY.

The first verse states that Cinnamāmbā, wife of Pratāpa illārya, built a temple of Śiva, and made grants of land to brahmans. She was a sister of Rāmaya Bhāskara, a minister of Acyutarāya, king of Karnāṭa, who appointed him the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu.

In the second verse it is said that Cinnamāmbā, a sister of the mighty Bhāskara Daṇḍanātha, who obtained wealth including elephants by the favour of the king of Karnāṭa, caused the excavation of a tank called Gōpinātha-samudra at Vāṅkāyalāḍu.

Ibid : An inscription of Vāṅkāyalāḍu

150. RĀMAYA BHĀSKARA OR BĀCA.

The Turaka of Gōlkonḍa consumes cows ; but Bācarasa having come to Koṇḍavīḍu is consuming the whole Brahman community. Which of these two is better ?

Appakavīyam, 3 : 230.

151. ORIGIN OF THE MADURA NĀYAKS.

SUMMARY.

Besides this, an inscription copied in the book, *Stories of the Kings of Tanjore* in the Govt. MSS. Library confirms what is said above. The following is the summary of what is said in the work :—

“ In days gone by, when king Acyutadēvarāya was ruling at Vijayanagara and Candrasēkhara, the king of the Pāṇḍya country, was ruling from Madura, the king of the Cōla country, Viraśēkhara, invaded and conquered the kingdom of Candrasēkhara and annexed it. The latter went to Vijayanagara and appealed to the Rāya against Viraśēkhara’s aggression. The Rāya deputed one Nāgama Nāyaka, the head of the stores department (*Tōsēkhāna*), to put down Viraśēkhara Cōla and subjugate the whole of the South. The king further commanded him to rule the country as his deputy collecting *peishkush* due from the dependent chiefs and remitting the tribute

regularly to the royal treasury. Accordingly Nāgama Nāyaka advanced on the Cōla, killed him in battle and became lord of the Cōla country. Contrary to the Rāya's orders, he began to rule, assuming independence, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom also without handing it over to its lawful owner. The king of Vijayanagara became enraged and called upon Viśvanātha Nāyaka, the son of the self-same Nāgama Nāyaka, to march against his father to bring him back to subjection. Viśvanātha, in strict obedience to the king's orders, marched against his own father, defeated him in battle and restored to the Pāṇḍya his kingdom. The Pāṇḍyan king was greatly pleased and as he had no progeny, adopted Viśvanātha as his own son and bestowed his kingdom upon him. The Rāya was greatly pleased when he heard of all these events."

The Cōla kingdom had no proper king. Acyuta made it over to one Cevvappa Nāyaka to whom he gave his wife's sister, Mūrti Amma, in marriage.

Balijavaniśapurāṇam, pp. 44-5.

152.

SUMMARY.

Acyutadēva Mahārāya, the king of Ghanagiri and Vidyā-nagara, made Viśvanāthasvāmi Nāyadu, the son of Kōṭakam Nāgama Nāyadu of the Royal Treasury, who was born on Thursday, Vaisākha śu 15, Prabhava corresponding to Ś.Ś. 1354 the ruler of the Pāṇḍya, the Cēra, the Cōla and the Malayāla countries, as a reward for the meritorious services which he rendered to the state. The boundaries of the territory entrusted to him are: in the east, the sea and Mannārkōṭa; in the south-east, Anantaśayanam; in the south, Gūḍallūru; in the south-west, Peddēru (Periyār), Kōyamuttūru and Valayār; in the west, the Ghats; in the north, Vālikonḍa and the Śvētanadī; in the north-east, Tañjānagaram extending as far as the Kāvēri. The rivers that flow within this territory are: the Ubhaya-Kāvēri, the Tāmraparnī, the Cītrā, the Kṣīrā, the Kṛtamālā, the Vēgavatī, the Nikṣēpā, the Varāhā, the Surabhi,

the North-śvētā, the Āmrāvatī, the Sāligrāmā, the Ratnā and the Bhavānī. The holy places included within the territory are: Sētu-Rāmēśvaram, Dhanuskōti, Śrīrangam, Tōtādri, Madhura, Alagiri, and Jambukēśvaram. The towns are: Triśirapuri and Madhura. Acyutadēva Mahārāya bestowed upon the city of Madhura the name of *Rāya-dakṣīṇa-simhāsana-sthāna* (the headquarters of the Rāya's Southern Throne), made Viśvanātha Nāyadu the ruler over this territory with its forts, *nāḍs*, hamlets, villages, *pēṭas* and towns, and invested him with the kingdom. Moreover, Acyutadēva Mahārāya formally crowned Viśvanātha Nāyadu of the Garikepāti family of the Balija caste as the king of Pāṇḍya country yielding a revenue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of *varāhas*; and he presented him the golden idols of Durgā, Lakṣmī and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and sent him with ministers, councillors and troops to the South. Viśvanātha Nāyadu reached the city of Madhura, from which he began to govern the country entrusted to his care.

Kaifiyat of Kārṇāṭa-Kōṭikam Kings: L.R. 8, pp. 319-22.

153.

*1—10. Praise of a *yōgi* by name Srīkanṭhākāśavāsi† and the *pīṭha* he occupied by name Kulaśekhara.

11—12. The emperor Rāya supplicated Viśvēśa for a son and was directed by the god to seek the aid of the *yōgi*.

13. The emperor got a son by favour of the *yōgi*.

14. The emperor and his minister who got a son each by the *yōgi's* favour become his pupils.

15. The emperor bestowed the Pāṇḍya country on the *yōgi* as *guru-dakṣīṇā*.

**Stokes* were written in the presence of Ayyangalayya, a resident of Jambukēśvaram and the *guru* of the Kārṇāṭaka rulers.

†An epigraph in the Jambukēśvaram temple in the Trichinopoly district dated Friday Vaiśākha śu 2, Viścika, of the year Pramādi corresponding to S.S. 1596 (Friday, 31 Oct. A.D. 1673) mentions Sadāśīva Vējapēya Yāji, son of Mahādēva Dikṣita and the grandson of Srīkanṭha Ākāśavāsi Candrasekharā Vējapēya Yāji (64 of 1937-8).

16. The *yōgi* wondered what he could do with the kingdom.

17. His *śiṣya* Nāgappa Nāyaka, the Mahāmantri of the emperor, had a son Viśvanātha Nāyaka by name.

18. To this young *śiṣya* who was very devoted to him, the *yōgi* gave the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

19. Viśvanātha in turn obtained initiation from him and gave him five villages.

20—1. Mahādēvadikṣita,* the performer of *vājapēya* sacrifice, learned in all the arts, is a scion of the family of that *yōgi*.

Kaifiyat of Karnāṭa-Kōtikam Kings: L.R. 8, pp. 324-5

154. VIŚVANĀTHA NĀYAKA.

SUMMARY.

Acyutadēva Mahārāya conferred on Viśvanātha Nāyanāyya the kingship of the Pāṇḍya-*mandalam* yielding a revenue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of *varāhas*, in appreciation of the great skill which he had displayed in transacting the business of the state and celebrated his coronation at Vijayanagara.

Mac. MSS. 14-4-97, pp. 97-99.

155.

SUMMARY.

Acyutarāya conferred several titles upon Viśvanātha Nāyaka, who bore the burden of the empire attached to the Southern Throne. Viśvanātha brought Vijaya Durgā and Mahālakṣmī and installed them in Madhura from which he ruled over the great Pāṇḍya-*mandala*.

Adyar Library, 32—E-31

* Mahādēva Dikṣita is mentioned in 64 of 1937-8 dated A.D. 1673 as the son of Śrīkanṭha Ākāśavāsi Candrasēkhara Vājapēya Yājī, and the father of Sadāśiva Vājapēya Yājī. He is also referred to in the other records of his son in the Jambukēśvara temple. 66, 67 of 1937-8 state that Mahādēva Dikṣita set up a *jāyastambha* containing the three names of Śiva in the presence of Māyabhūtēśvara; 50 of 1937-8 records his death; 69 of 1937-8 alludes to the death of the wife of Mahādēva Makhīndra in the year Kāṣayapati. It is therefore evident that Mahādēva Dikṣita flourished in the first half of the 17th century.

156. GANI TIMMA AND CĀBŌLI TIMMA.

The village of Puttakuruva is Laṅkā ; the river Gundlakammā is the sea ; Cābōli Timmarāju is Rāvaṇa ; Konḍrāju is Kumbhakarṇa ; Nāgarāju-Anumayya is Mārīca ; the *Boyas* are the demons ; and the bales of pepper are Sīta. Having entered Ēruva, Timmarāju and his followers threw the district into confusion. They carried away the cattle of Gurujāla in Palnād, attacked Vinukonda and plundered the country around Tangēda ; they created panic in Podile and Ammanavrōlu, committed burglaries in Uddagiri, and devastated by pillage the Sakili district ; they ravished the women of Cirivella and Nandēla, harassed the people of the district of Siddhāpura by dacoities, committed crimes at Tonḍamārayagulla, and obstructed, as highwaymen, people travelling along the Nandikanama. Rāghava *viz.*, Velugōti Cina Timma, having collected an army crushed the Rāvaṇa of Cābōlu out of existence.*

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, p. 142.

157. POLICE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TIME OF ACYUTA.

SUMMARY.

The founder of Pandikōna family was a Bōya of the name of Kampilirāya, who distinguished himself in the wars during the reign of Acyutadēvarāya. He won the favour of the Rāya by securing victory to the king's arms in many places, and was appointed by him as *kāvalgār* over Ādavāni, Gutti, Gaṇḍikōṭa and Kandanavōlu. He had four sons, Jatangirāya, Venkaṭadāsari, Venkaṭappa, and Pāpa whom he appointed as the police officers over each of the four divisions of the territory which the Rāya entrusted to his care.

Kampilirāya sent his eldest son Jatangirāya to Gaṇḍikōṭa, having at first specified his *jāgīr* and the *kāvali* dues. He commanded his other three sons to remain at Kōṭakonda and

*This is another poem composed by some Bhat to celebrate the victory of Gani Timma Nayadu over Timmarāju.

Cenampalli, and protect the districts of Ādavāni, Gutti, and Kandanavōlu.*

The *kāvali* dues, grain, *vartana*, and *rusum* of all the villages were fixed as follows :—

The (fee) for policing the country is 4 *mādas*, i.e., $2\frac{1}{2}$ *gā* for every 100 *gās* and 1 *tūm* of grain in every *putti*.

Toddy rent ... 3 *mādas* for 100 *gās*.

Road tax ... 3 *mādas* for 100 bullocks.

These details were entered in a copper-plate charter with the *Varāha*-seal, and it was handed over to the grantees probably by the king.

Kaifiyat of Pandikōna : L.R. 8, pp. 208-9

158. RĀMARĀJU ŚRĪRĀNGA AND HIS SONS.

Śrīraṅgarāja, the younger brother of Rāmaya Timmarāja married Timmāmbā of matchless virtue. To them were born five sons, who resembled the great monarchs of antiquity in their virtuous conduct. Kōna, the most excellent Timma Rāma, who, having given the sovereignty of the empire to the prosperous Sadāśivarāya, bears with elegance the title of the establisher of the extensive Karnāṭa kingdom, the brave Tirumala and Venkatādri, the vanquisher of enemies.

Dvīpada-Bālabhāgavatam : Mac. MSS. 13-2-19

159. RĀMARĀJA'S MARRIAGE WITH KRŚNARĀYA'S DAUGHTER

The famous Rāmarāja became the husband of the daughter of emperor Krśnarāya. He caused great distress to his enemies by his valour, and became the mainstay of Sadāśivarāya's uninterrupted sovereignty at Vidyānagara.

Rāmābhūdaya, 1 : 51

160. ŚRĪRĀNGARĀJA AND HIS SON RĀMARĀJA.

SUMMARY.

Rāmarāja was born to Śrīraṅga by his wife Tirumalāmbā. (1) Having killed Salakaya-Timmarāju, who turned

* The *kaifiyat* mentions Gandikōta also among the districts entrusted to the care of Kampilirāya's younger sons. They could have had no control over Gandikōta, as it is stated to have been given to Jāṭangirāya in an earlier context, cf. No. 146 ante.

traitor, with Salakaya, the lieutenant of that sinner, Śrīraṅgārāja-Rāmarāja acquired great fame in Vidyānagara as the establisher of the sovereignty of Sadāśiva. (2)

Padya-Bālabhāgavatam, 14-4-6, p. 16.

161. RĀMARĀJU TIMMA AND SALAKARĀJU TIMMA.

Rāmarāju-Timma maintained his title of *Dharaṇī-varāha* by restoring its former stability to the trembling earth which was caught in the ocean of destruction, that is, the evil-deeds of the monster, Salakaya-Timma.

Ibid, p. 110.

162. ALIYA RĀMARĀJA.

Rāmappa, the son-in-law of the emperor Kṛṣṇarāya of Indra-like splendour, a bee at the lotus feet of Lord Viṣṇu, and a Brahmā in intelligence deserves to enjoy the luxury of adorning the tresses of the ladies, *viz.*, the quarters with the flowers of glory blossomed on the creeper of his sword which is watered by the waves of the stream of blood flowing from the interior of the throats of his enemies. (1)

Who, in this world, is the peer of Rāmappa who has satisfied the flame of his sword with libations of blood from the neck of king Salakarāju Cina Timma? and whose cupid-like body is surrounded by haloes of beauty and whose troops protect the prosperity of Karnāṭa? (2)

Sāmbōpākhjānam, 1: 32-3.

163(a). SALAKAM TIMMAYYA AND ALIYA RĀMARĀJA.

Some days passed in this manner; then Aliya Rāmappa attempted to rule in Vijayanagara; but Salakam Timmayya who was in charge of the treasury, having gathered troops planned to kill him so that he might not seize the power. Rāmappayya having got scent of it fled to Pemmasāni Rāma-linga Nāyadū, the son of Timmā Nāyadū, for protection; and with the assistance of Hanḍe Hanumappa Nāyadū and others, he advanced upon (Vijayanagara), and encountered the troops of Salakam Timmayya and his allies, the Nizām Shāh, and

the Parid Shāh, the *Pādshāhs* of Delhi, on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. After a sanguinary battle, the troops of the *Pādshāhs* were routed, and Salakam Timmayya was slain. Then Rāmappayya began to rule at Vijayanagara.

Kaifiyat of the Zamindar of Uyyālavāda, and Sangapaṭla :
L. R. 6, pp. 454-5; Mac. MSS. 15-3-50, pp. 177-8.

163(b).

While Pemmasāni Yāra Timmā Nāyaḍu was governing (Gāṇḍikōṭa), Aliya Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāya, was ruling in the city of Vidyānagara. The cognates of the former Rāya, who did not want him to rule, turned hostile and attempted to cause him trouble. As Rāmarāja was not able to maintain his power, he left the city of Vidyānagara and took refuge with Timmā Nāyaḍu, the ruler of Gāṇḍikōṭa; and Timmā Nāyaḍu having pledged his word (to support him) kept him at his court. The cognates of the Rāya, who were at Vijayanagara, having learnt the state of affairs, came to Gāṇḍikōṭa with large forces, sent some persons of importance to Timmā Nāyaḍu, and demanded that Rāmarāja should be surrendered to them. Timmā Nāyaḍu replied : "We are not accustomed to betray people who seek our protection; we shall fight with you." Having made this declaration, he collected an army drawn from the contingents of the neighbouring *pālaigārs*, and marched at the head of this army together with Aliya Rāmarāja to Kōmali (a village) at a distance of three *kōs* from this place where he joined the enemy in battle. The troops of the enemy broke and fled. Rāmarāja and Timmā Nāyaḍu pursued them as far as Vijayanagara, where they destroyed Salakam Timmanna and others. The fear of the enemy, being rooted out (in this manner), Rāmarāja became the king from that time; and he rewarded Timmā Nāyaḍu by giving him much money.

Kaifiyat of Tāḍipatri : L. R. 11, pp. 501-2.

163(c).

(After the death of Kṛṣṇarāya) Tirumaladēvī, his queen, had given her only daughter in marriage to Rāmarāya and

kept him near her, so that he came to be known thenceforward as Aliya Rāmarāya, i.e., Rāmarāya, the son-in-law. While arrangements for celebrating his coronation at Vijayanagara were in progress, Salakam Timma, the custodian of Kṛṣṇarāya's treasury, who did not like that Rāmarāya should be crowned, left the city having already sent out secretly some money in advance. He gathered troops and advanced upon Vijayanagara by forced marches with the object of putting Rāmarāya to death, (thereby preventing his coronation). Aliya Rāmarāya who obtained information (of the activities of Salakam Timma) fled from the city at night taking the royal seal with him and arrived at Penugonḍa. He sent from that place letters bearing the royal seal to Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyadu, the Hande Chief, Mesā Peddā Nāyadu and other *jāgīrdārs* commanding them to repair to his presence expeditiously with all their troops. In response to his summons, Mesā Peddappa Nāyadu went to (Penugonḍa) like all the others. Rāmarāya described to them the wicked deeds of Salakam Timma, and said: "You (as well as your ancestors of) several generations, obtained many rewards and titles, by serving the king at considerable risk. Now, if you make this enterprise successful, by destroying the enemy, we shall bestow upon you valuable rewards and titles." Next, he enquired whether there was any person among them who would, by sending spies, secure information about the whereabouts of Salakam Timmayya, the disposition of his troops, and the direction in which he was intending to march. Mesā Peddappa Nāyadu coming forward with the declaration that he would get news of the condition (of the enemy) obtained the *tāmbūla*. He sent suitable persons into the troops of Salakam Timmayya, and got (the necessary) intelligence. (Rāmarāya), accompanied by the Chief of Gandikōṭa, Hande Hanumappa Nāyadu of Sonnalāpura, and Mesā Peddappa Nāyadu with all their forces, marched by night to Ādavāni, and falling suddenly upon Salakam Timmayya's army which lay encamped on the northern bank of the Tungabhadrā, slaughtered it. As Salakam Timmayya with the remnants of his

troops was fleeing the Pemmasāni, the Mesā, and the Hand Chiefs pursued him on their horses. Having captured him, they beheaded him promptly, and hoisted his head on a flag-staff.

Kaifiyat of Nađimidođđipăđem : L. R. 39, pp. 16-17

164(a). ALIYA RĀMARĀYA.

The rule of the kings of the Lunar dynasty came to an end at Hastināpura. Three brothers Kōnamrāju, Timmarāju and Rāmarāju, who were the descendants of the Pāñdavas in the female line, came (to Vijayanagara). Kōnamrāju settled in Awku and Banugānipalle; Timmarāju went to Candi-Candāvaram. Rāmarāju stayed at the court of Kṛṣṇarāya who had given him his daughter in marriage. As Kṛṣṇarāya had no male issue, Rāmarāju became king after his death, and ruled till S.S. 1476.* During his rule, he came to Ādavāni, where he built a palace, and a fort which extended as far as the Mondī bastion on the way to Tummalā Gate. He also founded (or this occasion, a suburb of the city, called) Śukravārapupēṭa.

Kaifiyat of Ādavāni : L. R. 10, p. 34

164(b).

SUMMARY.

Then Sadāśiva Mahārāya, the son of Ranga, the elder brother of Acyutarāya, ascended the jewelled-throne of Vijayanagara, and was governing the kingdom of the earth. During his time, Rāmarāja, the son of Śrīraṅga, and the grandson of Rāmadēvarāja of Kandanavōlu, having gathered all power in his hands, was administering the kingdom as *yuvārāja*. As he married Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya's daughter Tirumalammā, he was commonly called in Kanarese Aliya Rāmarāja.

Kaifiyat of Kandanavōlu : L. R. 16, p. 451

165. USURPATION OF SALAKAM TIMMAYYA.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya died in the year Tāraṇa corresponding to S.S. 1387†. Then the shepherd Salakam Timmayya who was in charge of the treasury at Vijayanagara usurped (the throne), and ruled for some time. As there was no lawful sovereign in

* The date is wrong ; the correct date is S.S. 1486.

the city, the country was plunged into anarchy. This state of affairs prevailed for some time. Then it was decided that the brothers, Tirumalarāya and Rāmarāya, as both of them were the sons-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāya, should be crowned and that their capital should be the city of Vidyānagara.

Kaiśyat of Dūpādu : L. R. 8, p. 446.

166. THE EXPLOITS OF THE PEMMASĀNI CHIEFS.

Cina Timma :—O ! Pemmasāni Akkaya-Cina Timma, O lord of big victories and great virtues, you won a victory over Salakarāju in the battle-field of Jūtūru displaying your valour. You reduced the fort of Bētamcerla to dust, and destroyed the pride of Cintagunṭa Raghupati. You put to flight Salaka once again in a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Bedakallu. You killed the adventurous Sañjīva Khān (Sanjar Khān ?), and captured Ādavāni. Having put to death the wanderer Salakaya Timma, you invested the Rāya with sovereignty.

Kaiśyat of Kurivikulam: Mac. MSS. 15-3-15, p. 40.

Pemmasāni Nārasimha :—O ! Pemmasāni Nārasimha, the possessor of all novel titles such as ‘the placer of the foot on the head of the obstinate Turuṣkas’, is it possible even to Śeṣa (the thousand-tongued serpent) to describe properly your victory to the world ? Rāmalinga, (your paternal uncle, the elder brother of your father), disgraced the three *vazirs*.* Your father Peda Timmā crushed the pride of Dastūr Khān. Your elder brother Cinna Nāyaka confounded the army of Masta Khān. Keeping that in your mind, you destroyed the army of Aśvarāya at Jammalamadugu.†

Cātupadyamanīmāñjari, Pt. II, pp. 87-8.

167. TIMMARĀJU CINNA-TIMMA AND HIS BROTHERS.

That excellent king’s wife was Gōpamāmbikā, the store-house of good qualities. Gōpamāmbā and Timma obtained by

* This evidently refers to the battle which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya fought with the armies of 'Ādil Shāh, Nizām Shāh, and Quṭb Shāh on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in which Pemmasāni Rāmalinga Nāyādu had greatly distinguished himself.

† These victories cannot be identified at present.

the grace of Viṣṇu four sons, whose birth exalted the Lunar dynasty. Tirumala, Viṭṭhala, the conqueror of the quarters, your glorious self, O King Cinna Timma, and the famous Pāpa Timma.

Dvipada-Bālabhāgavatam: Mac. MSS. 13-2-19, p. 287.

168. CINNA-TIMMA.

You captured in anger Candragiri and other forts exciting the admiration of your peers as well as the common people. You resolutely hunted the eluding deer, *viz.*, hostile kings; and having destroyed several proud people, you restored the property of Śrīraṅganātha. You captured Nāgūr and distributed new pearls to the complete satisfaction of all people who asked for them. You stormed the fort of Bōnagiri so as to increase your fame, and exacted tribute from all the chiefs of Tannarasunād within a very short time. Having given succour to the king of the Pāṇḍyas who sought your protection, you established him firmly in his kingdom. You crushed by means of your vanguard the pride of the powerful Bettu Perumāl; and having defeated the five Tirupatis (Tiruvadis), you put them to flight. You restored Tirupati (Tiruvadi) who craved your protection to his former kingdom, and having crossed the fort which goes by the name of Tovālaghat, you approached the God Anantaśayana and offered him worship and set up permanently at Kanyākumāri a shining pillar of victory to commemorate your conquest of southern quarter. Finally you cleaned your sword which was covered with new drops of the blood of your multitudinous enemies in the waters of the Southern Sea.

Ibid., pp. 277-8.

169. RĀMARĀJA VIṬṬHALA.

The sound of the war-drums which are beaten at the commencement of the wars of Viṭṭhala, the son of Rāmarāja Timma, obstructs the exuberant flow of the temple-juice of the rutting elephants of the Gajapati, the lord of the city of Kataka; destroys the pride of the mighty warriors, honoured

by the king of the Pāṇḍya country ; increases the tremulousness of the body of the Tukkhara chief, the lord of the fort of Makkha ; and excites the fear of separation from her lord, in future, in the mind of the wife of the king of Delhi.

Padya-Bṛālabhāgavatam : *Mac. MSS. 14-1-34*, f. 17-b.

170(a). TWO STAGES IN THE GROWTH
OF RĀMARĀJA'S POWER.

Then, Sadāśiva ascended the throne, and ruled for 18 years from Š.S. 1456 to Š.S. 1473, while Rāmarāja held the command of the army.

Next, Rāmadēva Mahārāya became the supreme ruler in the state which he governed with great power for 13 years from Š.S. 1474 to Š.S. 1486.*

Kaiśyat of Santarāvūr : *L. R. 39*, p. 508.

170(b).

Then Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya, having ascended the throne at Vijayanagara, ruled the kingdom for 23 years from Š.S. 1456 to Š.S. 1479, while Rāmarāja held the command of the army. Rāmarāja thereupon became the supreme authority in the state and ruled for fourteen years from Š.S. 1479 to Š.S. 1494.

Kaiśyat of Allūru : *L. R. 39*, pp. 375-6.

171. RĀMARĀJA'S CONQUEST OF KALYĀNI
AND KALUBARUGA.

N. B.—The author of the *Keḍinīpātiyām* attributes these victories to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya contradicting thereby the evidence of the earlier account of *Sivatattvaratnākaram*, where they are said to have been won by Sadāśiva Nayaka in the course of Rāmarāja's campaigns against the Deccan Sultāns during the reign of Sadāśivarāya (*Sources*, pp. 195-6). As the narrative of the *Sivatattvaratnākaram* agrees with the accounts of Muslim historians, the name of Rāmarāja must be substituted throughout this extract for that of Kṛṣṇarāya.

SUMMARY.

Sadāśiva Nayaka, son of Caudapa, assumed the reins of the Government of the principality on Śrāvana śu 3 of Śrīmukha corresponding to Š.S. 1436.†

* The date and the periods for which Rāmarāja is said to have acted as commander and as supreme authority are inaccurate.

† The Śaka year is correct. The date corresponds to 5th July 1513 A.D.

Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja) marched on one occasion at the head of his army with the object of subduing his enemies towards Ikkēri, where he was joined by Sadāśiva Nāyaka. He placed an army under the command of Sadāśiva and asked him to march in advance, and capture the forts of Kalyāṇa and Kalubaruga. Sadāśiva started at once towards these forts, in obedience to the royal command.

The chief of the Mussalmans, Sultān Bhairy Nizām Pādushāh of Ahmadnagar* who obtained information of the invasion commanded his powerful *vazīrs* Fērōja Khāna, Tālita Khāna, Samjar Khāna, Sāthe Khāna, Munila Khāna, Dastura Khāna, Vajra Khāna, Rāvuta Khāna, and Bokka Singa† to oppose the invaders. The ministers having united together marched with their troops to Jambukhāndī where they halted obstructing the path of the invading army. When the Vijayanagara army approached the place, a conflict ensued; and they soon began to fall back, as they were not able to cope with the Mussalmans. Sadāśiva Nāyaka now pushed forward, and in an encounter with Bokka Singa, he received a sword cut on his back extending along the spine. Notwithstanding this wound, Sadāśiva led his troops against the enemy in great fury. Though he had to face the combined attack of the officers mentioned above, he withstood them all and captured Bokka Singa, whom he delivered to the Rāya. The Rāya who was greatly pleased with the display of Sadāśiva's prowess conferred many gifts upon him.

Sadāśiva Nāyaka proceeded against the fort of Kalyāṇa and captured it by escalade. As a mark of his appreciation of Sadāśiva's valour, the king conferred upon him the title of *Immadi Sadāśiva Nāyaka*. As the army was returning from

* The Sultān of Ahmadnagar at this time was Hussain Nizām Shāh.

† Most of these officers were in the service of Hussain Nizām Shāh and they participated in this war. See *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*, Vol. L. (1921), p. 105.

Kalyāṇa, the garrison of the fort of Kalubaruga opposed them. Therefore Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja) halted at the place, and having thrown his *jamuvāḍi* into the fort he commanded the chiefs that accompanied him to fetch it. They hesitated; but Sadāśiva Nāyaka attacked the fort with great fury and captured it within an hour. The Rāya was greatly astonished at his unusual valour and bestowed on him the title of *Kōne Kōlāhala*. He also overcame at Jāleyapale, a chief called Yedava Murāri, who defied Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja), and obtained the title of *Kōte-goṇḍa Yedavamurāri*.

Keṭadīnṛpavijayam : 2 : 1-24.

172. RĀMARĀJA'S VICTORY OVER BARĪD.

SUMMARY :

Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja) summoned Sadāśiva Nāyaka to his presence, and commanded him to abase the pride of Barīda Pāduṣāha who had risen up against him.

Barīda Pāduṣāha was very much enraged when he heard that an expedition was launched against him. Placing himself at the head of an army, and accompanied by his brave ministers, he marched towards his frontier to oppose the invaders. When the two armies met, a fierce battle was fought. The Mussalman king Barīda, who was seated in a howdah on the back of an elephant, led his troops to the attack. Sadāśiva Nāyaka advanced upon him on a horse, and skilfully cut with his sword the ropes holding the howdah in position; but Barīda who was skilled in wrestling leaped on the back of another elephant, and having rallied his scattered troops, turned round and attacked his assailants with fury. Sadāśiva Nāyaka, however, stood his ground firmly, and put to flight the enemy that came swarming around him. Having defeated the forces of Barīdaśāha in this manner he captured him together with his ministers and insignia and placed him before the Rāya. Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja) was greatly pleased with the success of Sadāśiva; and as a mark of his esteem he conferred upon him the titles of *Aridale Meghadambara*, and *Divāpradīpa*, and presented to him several jewels including the

seal ring of Barida Pāduṣāha. Further he set at liberty Bokka Singa who was made a prisoner on a former occasion. He also gave Sadāśiva permission to style himself *Barīda-saptāṅga-haraya-Sadāśiva-Nāyaka*.

Ibid, 2: 24-49.

173. RĀMARĀJA'S VICTORIES OVER BIJĀPŪR AND AHAMADNAGAR.

SUMMARY:

The king of Bijāpūr despatched, without having due regard to the might of the Rāya, an army against him under the command of Sāthe Khāna, one of his ministers; but Sadāśiva Nāyaka defeated him in battle.

On another occasion, Nizām Sāha Adil Ali of Ahamadanagara, opposed the Rāya in battle with considerable pride. Sadāśiva confounded him in battle and put him to flight. When Kṛṣṇarāya (Rāmarāja) saw the flight of the Nizām Sāha of Ahamadanagara he was greatly delighted. He bestowed on him the title of *Ekāṅgavīra*; and said that he was mightier than Kṛṣṇappa Nāyak of Jinji.

Ibid, 2: 50-53.

174. SADĀŚIVA NĀYAKA'S VICTORIES OVER MINOR CHIEFS.

SUMMARY:

At the command of the Rāya, Sadāśiva Nāyaka, proceeded against the fort of Candragutti, and having defeated Sāluva Nāyaka in battle he captured the fort and took him prisoner. On another occasion he defeated the mighty Mādaṇa Odeya of Bankāpura, and obtained from the Rāya the eighteen *Kampāṇas* of Araga. Sadāśiva Nāyaka caused, with the consent of the Rāya, a tank to be excavated at Bankāpura, and having invited the head of the Śiṅgēri monastery and the Rāya brought about an interview between them. He also vanquished Gutti Timma who rose up in rebellion against the Rāya. When the Tuluva chiefs rebelled against the Rāya, he defeated them all at Kāsargōd, and brought them back to subjection.

Ibid, 2: 54-62.

175. DODDA SANKANNA NĀYAKA.

SUMMARY.

After (the death of) Sadāśiva Nāyaka, Dodda Sankanna, his eldest son, succeeded him at Ikkēri on Vaiśākha śu 5 Viśvāvasu corresponding to Ś. S. 1486.*

Sankanna defeated Virūpaṇṇa Vodeya of Jambūr, and captured Jambūr and the fort of Duruguni. Virūpaṇṇa, who had been defeated in this manner, repaired to Vidyānagara and reported to the Rāya how Dodda Sankanna had deprived him of his possessions. On being summoned by the Rāya he entrusted the administration of the estate to his younger brother, Cikka Sankanna Nāyaka, and started to Vidyānagara with all his family. He reached the capital and met Rāmarāja who commanded him to remain at the court and hand over the forts of Jambūr and Duruguni to Virūpaṇṇa Vodeya. In obedience to the orders of Rāmarāja he lived at the court for some years helping the Rāya in the administration of the kingdom.

Two sons, Rāmarāja and Venkaṭanṛpāla were born to Dodda Sankanna during these years. When these boys were presented at the court, the Rāya who was greatly struck by their appearance made arrangements for their upbringing. He also gave Sankanna on that occasion the villages of Masūr, Mallūr and Poleyā Ponnūr as *jāgīr*.

Keļadīnṛpavijayam : Canto iii, 1-7.

176. THE CAPTURE OF GOA.

SUMMARY.

One day it struck Rāmarāja, while he was seated in the durbar, that all forts were under his control excepting Goa which could not be taken, as it was governed by the men of un-pierced ears.† He deliberated on the matter with his counsellors, and came to the conclusion that his object could be realised through the agency of Sankanna Nāyaka. He

*The Śaka and the cyclic years do not tally. Ś. S. 1486 corresponds to Raktāksi and not to Viśvāvasu. The correct Śaka date appears to be 1467. This corresponds to April 16, A.D., 1545.

† The text has *aviddhakarṇar*. They might be Mussalmans or Europeans.

commanded his younger brother, Viṭṭhalarāya* to lead the expedition ; and having summoned Sankanṇa Nāyaka to his presence, explained to him what he had in his mind. He commanded him to march quickly and make the enterprise a success. Sankanṇa accompanied the army of Viṭṭhalarāya, and captured Goa which was protected by the sea.

Having captured Goa, Sankanṇa returned to Vijayanagara, and had an audience with the Rāya. On hearing the news of the conquest of Goa, he was immensely pleased. He granted to bim the *hōbali* of Mālēnahalli free from all obligations. Moreover, he presented to him and his sons valuable jewels and gems. Sankanṇa took permission from him and retired to Ikkēri. He stayed there for a while, when he married his two sons to beautiful princesses, and having entrusted his family and estate to his younger brother, Cikka Sankanṇa, he went abroad to travel and see peoples and countries.

Keṭadīnṛpavijayam : Canto iii, 8-10.

177. SANKANṄA'S OTHER VICTORIES.

SUMMARY.

Sankanṇa subdued the Turuṣkas who rebelled against Rāmarāya (83). He abased the pride of the Muhammadans who used to attack (the Rāya) from generation to generation in a great battle and subdued all the country surrounded by the sea, as well as the country of the Oddis. (88).

Keṭadīnṛpavijayam, 3 : 83, 88.

178. CIKKA SANKANṄA NĀYAKA.

SUMMARY.

After the demise of Dodda Sankanṇa his younger brother Cikka Sankanṇa was installed on the throne at the palace of Ikkēri on Āśvayuja śu 5 of Kālāyukti Ś. S. 1481.†

Keṭadīnṛpavijayam, 4 : 1.

179. CIKKA SANKANṄA'S VICTORY OVER SALĀBHATA KHĀNA.

Cikka Sankanṇa Nāyaka defeated in battle at Guruvike Hiriya Arasapa Nāyaka with the troops of his ally, Salābhata

* This Viṭṭhalarāya appears to be identical with Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala.

Khāna of Bijāpūr. He also vanquished in battle the Muhammadans who invaded the country with a large army of elephants, horses and men.

Keṭadīnṛpavijayam, 4: 6-7.

180(a). VĒLUGŌTI TIMMAYA NĀYANA.

SUMMARY.

Velugōti Nāyana, son of Timmaya, killed Hāvali Ōbuļa on Monday, Bhādrapada śu 4, Parābhava, Ś. S. 1468 in a battle at Nāgārjunikonda. The Gods, Ākhaṇḍalēśvara and Nāgēśvara and the river Kṛṣṇā witnessed this battle. To avenge the death of his father, Nāyana met in battle Hāvali Ōbularāja* of the Lunar dynasty and slew him.

Velugōtivāri Vāṁśāvati, 253-5.

180(b).

Nāyanappa Nāyaḍu slew Hāvali Ōbularāja in a battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā near Nāgārjunikonda on Monday, Bhādrapada śu 4, Parābhava, Ś. S. 1468, in order to avenge the death of his father.

Velugōtivāri Vāṁśacaritra, p. 86.

181(a). THE EXPLOITS OF TIMMAYA YARA TIMMA.

SUMMARY.

The achievements of Kumāra Timma, son of Velugōti Timma, are described in the following verses:—

He put to flight Āzīm Khān and Yākub Khān; killed in battle Cintagunta Dharmā Rao and expelled Mustafā Khān; cut to pieces (the army of) Malkibharāmu (Malik Ibrāhim Shāh), and Dastura Khān, gave protection to Bhūpati Rāvu Nāga, and laid siege to the fort of Cittēla (1). Kumāra Timma prospered by the favour of the king of Karnāṭa who gave him wealth; he put to flight the Mussalmans in a fierce battle which took place near Kondavīdu (2). By the blood of the intoxicated

* This Hāvali Ōbularāja was a member of the Nandyāla branch of the Āravida family.

Turuskas which he shed, the flood of the river Kṛṣṇā increased in volume (3). When Kumāra Timma captured the forts of Cittēla, Pērūru, Dēvulapalli, Nāgulapādu and Vāḍappalli, the other forts such as Dēvarakonḍa, Nallakonḍa, Aruvapalle and Undrakonḍa were panic stricken (4). At the instance of Rāmarāja and Yara Timmarāja he entered the mountainous country and dispelled the fear of the *Bōyas*; put to flight Mustafā Khān and captured his elephants, cut off the heads of the soldiers of Dēvarakonḍa who met him in a fierce battle; and won a victory near the Kṛṣṇā over an army which Ibharāmu Sāhu (Ibrāhīm Shāh) despatched against him (5). As soon as Aliya Rāmappa, Yara Timmarāja and Venkatādri uttered the words, 'granted permission', Kumāra Timma crossed the river Kṛṣṇā, and within a *gadi*, he captured easily Cittēla, Pērūru, Dēvulapalli, Nāgulapādu and Vāḍappalli causing consternation in the minds of kings (6). At the instance of that Raghurāma, *viz.*, Yara Timmarāja, he killed like Hanumān and Garutmān their enemies (7). He destroyed the Mussalman army in a battle fought on the isle of Mandala near Kondapalle* (8).

Velugōṭīvāri Vāniśāvalī, vv. 258-65.

181(b).

This Yara Timmā Nāyadu marched to the assistance of Bhūpati Rāvu Nāganna when the Pāthāns of Dēvarakonḍa attacked him, and destroyed them. At the instance of Aliya Rāmarāja, the king of Karnāṭa, he captured Dēvulapalli, Perūru, Nallakonḍa, Aruvapalli, Gōgulapādu and Vāḍappalli.

Velugōṭīvāri Vāniśācaritra, p. 86.

* Konḍavīdu is the reading of the text. As there is no possibility of an island being near Konḍavīdu the correct reading ought to be Konḍapalli in the neighbourhood of which there are two or three islands in the Kṛṣṇā.

† The authors of the *Velugōṭīvāri Vāniśācaritra*, unable to understand 'Dēvarakonḍa-thānilanu' of the *Velugōṭīvāri Vāniśāvalī*, amended the text and converted 'thānilanu' into 'Pāthānīla,' thereby usurping into existence a garrison of Pāthāns at Dēvarakonḍa. 'Thānilanu' is the accusative plural of 'thāni' meaning 'one who is

182(a). KONDŌJU, THE BARBER.

A Cāṭu.

By associating with slaves who steal the leavings of food these ministers have come to destroy (the good name) of the (royal) family. The worthy barber, Kondōju, who knows what is proper is more sensible.*

Kandukuru Rudra Kavi.

182(b).

Moreover, Kondōju, the barber gave Rāmarāja such a clean and comfortable shave at Vijayanagara that he won the royal approbation. Rāmarāja granted him graciously a charter as a mark of his appreciation of Kondōju's workmanship. The *pannu* and *kāṣike* which the barbers had to pay to the government in the village of Ūṭukūru included in the *sīma* of Pottapi-nāḍu belonging to the God Tiruvengalanātha were made *sarvamāṇya* at Awuku. In the same manner, the *pannu* and the *paryāya* which the barber, Ellōju, had to pay in Pondalūru in the Pottapi *sīma* were also made *sarvamāṇya*.

Kaifiyat of Cittivalli : L. R. 22, p. 180.

183(a). SADĀŚIVA.

SUMMARY.

When Sadāśiva ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, he appointed Rāmarāju Mürtirāju Viṭṭhala as the governor of Kondavidu; Viṭṭhala made a grant of land to the god Konda Singarayya on Āśadha śu 12, Viṭṭodhikṛt Ś. S. 1473. Sadāśiva ruled for 27 years from Ś. S. 1464 to Ś. S. 1490.

Kaifiyat of Kondavidu : Mac. MSS. 15-4-40, pp. 22-3.

183(b). VIŚVANĀTHA NĀYAKA AND ŚRIRANGAM.

After Śaka year 1420, Madura and Trichinopoly became the fief of Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Narasimhācāriyar, the son of Vādhūla Dēśikar, got him to make the following gifts to the temple : (gold vessels, etc., names omitted).

Kōyiloju, p. 150.

* This verse was composed extempore by the poet in the durbar of Rāmarāja as a mark of his appreciation of Kondōju's help in getting him introduced at the court.

184. THE DEATH OF RĀMARĀJA.

Aliya Rāmarāja, son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, was ruling the kingdom afterwards. At that time two Muhammadan officers, who had been in the service of the Narapati kings for a long time, saw one day, while they were seated in the durbar, a pig passing at a distance, and spat upon the ground. Some of the courtiers who were ill-disposed towards them brought their conduct to the notice of the Rāya, and pointed out that the officers who had insulted in this manner one of the incarnations of their god did not deserve to remain in the service of the state. At last they succeeded in persuading him to prohibit the said officers from entering into the precincts of the palace.

The officers waited patiently for two or three months, being desirous of obeying the will of their master. As they did not receive their salary during these months, they were not in a position even to quit the city. At last they sent a message to the Rāya : "We and our men have not received our salaries from a long time; our womenfolk are put to much inconvenience as they have no money to defray the household expenses. If (Your Majesty) is pleased to pay our salary, we shall leave this place, and seek service elsewhere." When the Rāya perused their representation, he sent the following order: "There seems to be no chance of your receiving cash; we shall find out whether there is any gold or silver bullion (in the treasury), and send you a quantity equivalent in value to your salary." The officers, considering that bullion could be easily converted into cash, submitted that they would readily accept anything which His Majesty was pleased to pay.

After some deliberation, Rāmarāja devised a plan to pay their salary. With the quantity of gold due to them, he had a golden boar manufactured, and sent it to them in lieu of their salary. When they saw this golden boar, they were greatly astonished. Having hung it together with shoes, they spat upon it, and departed to Bhāgānagar with their women and children by night. When they reached that city, they narrated

the whole incident to the king of that place, and said : " We did this in order to maintain the honour of our race. You are a powerful king, and you should make elaborate preparations (to avenge this insult)."

The ruler of Bhāganagar communicated this information to the king of Delhi, who, having pondered over the matter for some time, collected an army and despatched it to Bhāgānagar. On reaching its destination, this army joined the forces of Bhāgānagar besides others, and marched against Aliya Rāmarāja, the Narapati of Ānegondi.

Rāmarāja gathered together his forces, and began the war which lasted for six months. As the head of Aliya Rāmarāja was cut off in the war, the troops of the Rāya fled in all directions. Then (the king of Bhāgānagar) stationed his garrison at Ānegondi, and posted officers to garrison (the forts) on all sides to safeguard the kingdom.

Kaifiyat of Gutti : L. R. 22, pp. 5-8.

185(a). THE BATTLE OF RĀKSASI-TĀNGADI.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarājayya, who was governing the kingdom at Vijayanagara as the Yuvarāja of Sadāśiva Mahārāya, perished together with the army in battle with the Deccani Pādushāhs at Rāksasi-Tāngadi in the *paragāna* of Henugondi near the confluence of the Malāpahārī with the Kṛṣṇā on S. S. 1486, Raktākṣi.

Kaifiyat of Cittivelli : L. R. 22, p. 184.

185(b).

In this year (S. S. 1486 Raktākṣi) Aliya Rāmarāja fought a battle at Rakkasi-Tangadi on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā with the Deccani Pādushāhs, and was destroyed with the army. Then the Mussalmans came to Vijayanagara and ruined it. As they had given some territory to Sadāśivarāya, he continued to rule.

Kaifiyat of Kandanaevōlu : L. R. 16, pp. 488-9.

185(c).

During the reign of Aliya Rāmarāja, while Busi Reddi was holding the office of *Nādu-gaudu*, Alli Adal Shāh Pādushāh of

Bijāpūr, Kutubu Shāh of Bhāgānagar and Nizām Pādushāh of Daulatābād, these three came with their armies, destroyed Aliya Rāmarāja with the army, and upset the throne of Vidyānagara. As the said *Nādu-gaḍu* Busi Reddi was not able to endure the tyranny of the Muhammadans, he fled to Gōsunūru-Anantāpuram, in the Kandanavōlu Taluk. The *dēsāis* and the weak people, having abandoned their homes, migrated to the neighbourhood of Vidyānagara.

Kaifiyat of Gadwāl : *Mac. MSS. 15-3-18*, p. 98.

185(d).

A Mussalman Nizām (?) of the north called Malik Ibharām marched upon Rāmappaya, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ; but before he could reach Ānegondi, Rāmappaya advanced to meet him, and, having been wounded in the battle, died.

Account of the Narapati Kings : *L. R. 50*, pp. 315-6.

185(e).

Then Aliya Rāmarāja, who was managing the affairs of the kingdom in his capacity as Yuvarāja under Sadāśivarāya, was destroyed with the army in a battle (fought near) the village of Rākṣasi-Taṅgadi on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā with the five Pādushāhs of Deccan. Having set fire to all the temples at Ānegondi and Virūpākṣa, they plundered the city of Vijayanagara. On that occasion the Muhammadan army pillaged the whole kingdom. So, the *agrahāras* which remained intact until then were confiscated by the state. The same happened to Lēbāka also.

Kaifiyat of Lēbāka : *L. R. 44*, p. 242.

185(f).

Then began the rule of Aliya Rāmarāja. While he was governing (the kingdom), in the month of Vaisākha of Raktākṣi S. S. 1486 (April-May 1564 A. D.) Alli Yadula Shāh, the king of Bijāpūr, Kutubu Shāh of Bhāgānagar, and Nizām Shāh Bhairy of Daulatābād, these three kings, having united together, marched with their troops, fought fiercely with Rāmarāja at Rākṣasi-Taṅgadi in the *pargana* of Honugondadahalli

near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā with the Malāpahārī and destroyed him with his army. Having plundered the city of Vidyānagara, the three Pādushāhs returned with their troops to Bijāpūr; and Vidyānagara gradually fell into ruin. Subsequently the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy and the depredations of the *pālaigārs* resulted in the dispersion of the people in different directions. The village thereupon fell into complete ruin.

Kaifiyat of Sindavādi : L. R. 40, pp. 301-2.

185(g).

Kōnēti Raingarāja was governing the fort of Gutti during Aliya Rāmarāja's rule. The five Pādushāhs—Alli Abdal Shāh of Bijāpūr, Badar Nizām Shāh, Kutub Shāh, etc.—having united together marched upon the Narapati, the king of kings, and engaged him in a battle. As the forces of the Rāya were not strong enough, they cut off his head and overthrew the kingdom.

Kaifiyat of Yarra-Timmardūceruvu : L. R. 39, p. 47.

185(h).

While Aliya Rāmarāja was governing the kingdom, the five Muhammadan Pādushāhs—Kutubu Shāh of Hyderābād, Alli Adal Shāh of Bijāpūr, Nizām Shāh Bahādi (Bhairy) of Ahmadnagar, Nizām Shah of Daulatābād* and Imad-ul-Mulk of Birād-Burhānpūr—advanced with their armies, and having rebelled against Aliya Rāmarāya defeated him in battle, and cut off his head. They took possession of the kingdom.

Kaifiyat of Tādpatrī : L. R. 39, p. 232.

185(i).

Then, the Pādushāhs of Deccan, having joined together, slew Rāmarāya, on account of religious hatred, and annexed the territories.

Kaifiyat of Sāntarāvīrī : L. R. 39, p. 508.

* This is certainly a mistake. The correct name is Barid Shāh of Bidar.

During the reign of this Sadāśivarāya, Aliya Rāmarāja who was the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāya, became the protector of the kingdom. The five Pādushāhs of Deccan—Alli Adal Shāh of Bijāpūr, Kutubu Shāh of Bīdar *, Nizām Shāh Bahārī, and two others—who had been paying him tribute, having united together fought a battle with him at Rākṣasada-Angadī† on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā and killed him. They plundered Vidyā-nagara, and having made Sadāśiva the ruler of the place, they departed (to their respective countries). Sadāśiva ruled in the place for some more years.

Kaifiyat of Sara : L. R. 33, p. 396.

During the reign of Aliya Rāmarāja in the year S. S. 1486 Raktākṣi, the three Pādushāhs—Alli Adalu Shāh Pādushāh of Bijāpūr, Kutubu Shāh of Bhāgānagar and Nizām Shāh Bhairy of Daulatābād—came with their armies, and destroyed him with the army in a battle near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Malāpahārī. As there was no ruler for six years, the people of the village fled in all directions, unable to endure the tyranny of the *pālaigārs*.

Kaifiyat of Hoḍulagondi : L. R. 34, pp. 163-4.

After his (Acyuta's) death Salakayya Timmarāya became king. After him came Aliya Rāmarāya, who ruled the country between the rivers Kāvērī and Narmadā. This king marched from Vijayanagara with a large army, and having crossed the Kṛṣṇā, he advanced northwards, thereby rousing the enmity of all the Muhammadans. Therefore, Adal Shāh Pādushāh came upon him with his troops, and slew him by severing his head.

Kaifiyat of Gulyam : L. R. 34, pp. 47-8.

* This is due to the ignorance or confusion of the *kaifiyat* writer. It should be Kutubu Shāh of Gōlkonda or Bhāgānagar.

† Rākṣasā-Tālagadī.

185(m).

While Rāmarāja was governing the kingdom in this ashion, the Muhammadans—Āli Adam Shāh Bahadaru of Bijāpūr, Nizām Shāh, Kutub Shāh, and some other Pādushāhs the total being five—having joined together marched against him for war. Rāmarāja was not able to cope with the enemy in the battle-field ; he fell into the hands of the Pādushāhs who beheaded him. The Muhammadans came to prominence in the dominions of the Rāya, and their garrisons were posted at Penugonda and other places.

Kaifiyat of Fāmumuḍī : L. R. 17, pp. 418-19.

185(n).

The five Pādushāhs of Deccan, *viz.*, the rulers of Bijāpūr, Bidar, Daulatābād, Ahmadnagar, etc., fought a battle with Kṛṣṇarāya's son-in-law, Aliya Rāmarāja who was wielding supreme authority in the kingdom, since the accession of Sadāśivarāya, at Rākṣasi-Taṅgadī on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā in S. S. 1486 Raktākṣi. The Muhammadans having destroyed Aliya Rāmarāja with his army in the battle, marched upon Vijayanagara and plundered the royal palaces and the city, and burnt down the temples. They gave some territory to Sadāśivarāya over which he ruled for six years.

Kaifiyat of Puṣpagiri : L. R. 13, p. 76.

185(o).

While Rāmarāja was thus ruling the kingdom, in S. S. 1482 Raktākṣi, Āli Adam Shāh Pādushāh of Bijāpūr, Kutub Shāh of Bhāgānagar, and Nizām Shāh Bhairy of Daulatābād, these *Mlecchas*, having marched with their armies, fought a fierce battle with him at Rākṣasi-Taṅgadī in the *pargāya* Holugonda-dahalli near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malāpahārī and destroyed him with all his army. Then they plundered the city of Vidyānagara, and returned to Bijāpura. Since that time, Vidyānagara gradually fell into ruin.

Kaifiyat of Ādovāni : L. R. 10, p. 37.

185(p).

Aliya Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadēvamahārāja, who became *sarvādhikāri* on the accession of this Sadāśivārāya, was exercising supreme power in the state. In the year S.S. 1486 Raktākṣi, the *Pañca Pādushāhs* of Deccan, that is, the five Muhammadan rulers in the south—the rulers of Bijāpuram, Bidur, Daulatābād, Ahmadnagar, etc., who had been paying tribute to this Rāya, having united together fought a battle with Aliya Rāmarāja at the village of Rākṣasi-Taṅgadī on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā. These Muhammadans killed Rāmarāja together with his army, and marched to Vijayanagara. They set fire to the city, palaces, and temples and plundered the country. As they gave some territory to the said Sadāśivārāya, inscriptions bear testimony to his rule for ten years, even after the establishment of the Turaka Government.

Kaifiyat of Cuddapah : *L. R.* 8, pp. 128-29.

185(q).

Then, while Sadāsiva and Aliya Rāmarāja were ruling as King and *Yuvarāja* respectively, the five Deccan Pādushāhs of Bijāpurām, Bidur etc., joined together and fought with Aliya Rāmarāja and killed him. In consequence Warangal and Anumakonda were once again included in the Turaka dominions.

Kaifiyat of Anumakonda : *Mac. MSS.* 15-4-5, p. 108.

185(r).

Rāmarājajayyadēva Mahārāja having come to power was ruling the kingdom until S.S. 1483. The Deccan Pādushāhs having joined together killed Rāmarāja, the king of Karnātaka, and took possession of the country. Malik Vibāurām Pādushāh sent a Muhammadan officer called Martujā to take possession of this place.

Kaifiyat of Konqavidi : *Mac. MSS.* 15-4-40, pp. 22-3.

186. RĀMARĀJA'S BAKHAIR.

To the presence of R. R.* my Lord Master :—The petition submitted by the servant of (your) servants, Rāmājī Tirmala

* R. R. stands probably for *Rājarājaśrī*.

Harkāra.* In accordance with the arrangements made by Your Highness, I was remaining in the presence of Rāmarāja,† the lord of Karnātaka and the southern countries until Vaisākha, ba., 8 of the year Raktākṣi corresponding to year 1486 of the Śālivāhana Śaka.

It lately happened in these parts that a *mahaldār* of Allī Adula Śāhu, who brought letters from his master, having stood at the main gate, informed the king (through a messenger) of his arrival. Having had this (information) brought to his favourable attention, the king ordered his *daļavāy*, whom he summoned to his presence, thus : " Make arrangements for lodging the (*mahaldār*) of Allī Adula Śāhu in the Ānanda Mahal which is outside the *jāsōti cāvādi* and *hazāra cāvādi* ‡; pay him (money) for his expenses as suited to his position, and attend to his needs." On receiving this order the *daļavāy*'s messenger (whom he deputed) brought (the *mahaldār*), according to the royal order, to the Ānanda Mahal where he lodged him, and having paid for his expenses (money) as suited to his status, attended to his needs. (The messenger) after carrying out his instructions returned (to the court) and communicated to the king everything.

The *mahaldār*, having taken rest during that night in the Ānanda Mahal woke up betimes next morning, washed his hands and face, and said his prayers. Then he reflected, " As the king did not summon me at once to his presence to receive the letters of my master, he treated (me) with indifference ; but I must not say anything at present ; if I talk much, my self-respect will be lost. I am but a weak servant. § It is desirable

* 'Ramajee Harracarra' I.O.M. (= Mackenzie Collection; India Office MSS. No. X, English tr. of the Bakhair p. 157. It will be referred to hereafter as I.O.M.) Harkāra means a messenger.

† Rāmarāja is referred to by his name only in three places in the chronicle ; he is generally spoken of as Rājabhūvara throughout this work.

‡ 'Ordered him to lodge the *mahaldār* in the Ānanda Mahal near Chauso peshhazara (I.O.M., p. 157). *Jāsōti cāvādi* is the office of the spies. *Hasāra cāvādi* is the office of the audience hall.

§ He was but the servant of a low man.—I.O.M., p. 158.

to preserve one's self-respect at all costs. If one wants to ride upon a mighty elephant, one should do so only after considering the pros. and cons.* One who is desirous of holding a long conversation with the king should have ample foresight." Having thus restored peace to his mind, he sent a message to the king.

"Your Majesty was not pleased to summon me as soon as I arrived to your august presence to receive the letters which I have brought. They deal with very delicate (affairs of state). I submit that Your Majesty may be pleased now at least to send for me, so that I may deliver the letters and communicate all information about them (in person)."

When this message reached the King of Kings, he was highly pleased and granted him permission to repair to the royal presence. Accordingly, the *mahaldār*, taking the letters with him, presented himself before His Majesty, and saluted him with much humility, and having delivered the letters, represented certain matters (pertaining to them). Then he praised the king thus :

"Your Majesty is the King of Kings, unequalled in prowess. No monarch who is so capable as Your Majesty is seen anywhere in the world ; Your Majesty has been called *Navakōti-Nārāyaṇa*. How can I adequately praise Your Majesty, who is a storehouse of regal splendour!"

The king was very much pleased to hear praises such as these. He handed over the letters which he received from the *mahaldār* to his secretary (*sthānāpati*),† and commanded him to read them. He was greatly delighted to hear their contents. Then, being desirous of holding a durbar in the Ānanda Mahal

* "For, as the proverb says, 'One must take a little time to consider before one mounts an elephant even if it be as low in stature as a diminutive *māṇa*'"—I.O.M., p. 168.

† *Sāṇapati*—I.O.M., p. 159.

he went thither, and sat in state in the midst of all his courtiers and the holders of the seventy-two *viniyōgas*.

At that time, (a company of) Telugu acrobats called the *Dombas* came to the court, and obtained at once permission to exhibit their feats (before the assembled courtiers). The performance continued for about four to six hours ; and when it was concluded the king commanded that they should be given betel leaves, nuts, and presents (as suited to their skill). When this was done, the *Dombas* prostrated before the King of Kings, and petitioned that His Majesty might be pleased to bestow upon them ten pigs for the purpose of eating. The Narapati having caused the desired animals to be brought before him from the *kārkhāna* of the palace, and giving them to the acrobats permitted them to depart from his presence.

The *mahaldār* of Allī Adula Śāhu was also sitting (in the assembly). As soon as he saw the swine, covering his face (with his hands) he said :*

“ I am a Mussalman by birth ; these impure beasts should not come within my sight ; if they come (before me), I should not see them. A Mussalman, who looks at these filthy creatures, becomes (by that very act) a Hindu.”

On hearing this, the king observed :

“ People of your community eat fowl. A person who consumes a fowl, consumes filth at the same time.”

The *mahaldār* replied :

“ You eat impure animals ; and consequently the race to which you belong is, indeed, low.”

On hearing these words, the King of Kings became indignant. He had all the swine in the city collected ; and commanded that all of them should be driven inside a large house,

* At this time the *mahaldār* of Allī Adil Shāh, coming in to the Rāja to confer on the important business he was charged with and meeting these animals on his way, immediately covered his face exclaiming etc.—I.O.M., p. 159.

on the floor of which, (grains of millet, usually consumed by swine, were scattered.) Then, at the command of the king, the doors of the house were locked and sealed (with the royal seal).

Next morning when the doors were opened, it was discovered that the swine which had a hearty feed, covered the floor of the house with filth. (Having observed this), the Narapati caused a hundred fowls to be brought, and let them into the house. At once they began to eat the grains of millet, picking them up from the excreta of the swine. The King of Kings then sent for the *mahaldār*, and (when he came)—pointing at the fowls, asked,—“ You said that we ate filthy creatures. Look at the fowls that are eating the grains of millet, picking them out from the filth of the swine. Now, tell me, how great is the race to which you, who eat these fowls, belong ?”

The *mahaldār* was greatly annoyed to hear this question. In great anger, he attempted to leave (the audience hall); but the king, having called (him) back, quieted his mind by treating him with respect. Then having offered him *tāmbūla*, with several presents suitable to his position, he gave him leave to depart from his presence.

The *mahaldār* then repaired to the place where his master, Yadula Śāha Pādusāh was (living at the time). Removing the turban from his head, he put it on round his neck, and said in great excitement :

“ Peace be on you, O, Pādushāh: (Your) rule has now come to an end. The practices of the Mussalmans are not respected. Now, the infidel has become bold, he does not care for the honour of the Mussalmans. (Our) honour can only be saved (in one way). Hazarat Pādusāh Sāhēb should destroy that Narapati and posting military garrisons everywhere in the Kingdom of Karnātaka establish his authority. Otherwise not even a particle of honour will be left to us. Therefore, having listened to my words (Your Majesty) should be pleased to enter Karnātaka.”

On hearing this request, the Pādusāh said to the *mahaldār*:

“As I have attained the status of being called a son of the Narapati, I shall do nothing to harm him. He is my elder; and it is not meet that I should stand against him.”

The *mahaldār* grew angry when he heard these words. He left the court without asking for or obtaining permission of his master and repaired to the place where the three Pādusāhas were residing (at that time). The three Pādusāhas were Akhabaga Julāyi Pādushāh,* the lord of the throne of Jahalnāpūr, Yadula Sāha Pādushāh and Savāyi Jagajhampa Suguna Kannada Jāṇa Pādusāh.† They met at Jahalnāpūr with the

* Akbar Jalaludeen—*I.O.M.*, p. 161.

† It is stated clearly here that Akhabagu Julāyi Pādushāh was the ruler of Jahalnāpūr. The name of this chief is spelt in different ways in the original.

On p. 49, *L. R.* 24 it is written as Akhacara Jalaidin Pādushāh; on p. 162 it is written as Akabaru Jalaudin Pādusāhu; on p. 172 it is written as Akabaru Jalādin Mogali Pādusāha, Takhtu Jahalnāpūr; on p. 66 it is written as Akhacaru Jaladinu Pādusāha Mogal Pādusāha.

I. O. M. has on p. 161:—

Akbar Jalalodeen of Jalnahpore.
The Mogul Pādshāh Abdulla Khān.
Nizām Shāh Byree Pādshāh.

The *mahaldār* is said to have found them with Alli Adil Shāh Savāyi Jagajhampa Suguna Canarajāṇa.

It is obvious from this that the name of this chief was Akbar Jalāl-ud-Dīn; and that he was a Moghul who ruled at Jahalnāpūr. The name of the second Pādshāh could not have been Yadula Sāha Pādusāha; for the *mahaldār* who left Yadula Sāha's court in anger could not have gone to that monarch to ventilate his grievances against him. This is clearly seen by the conversation that took place between the *mahaldār* and the three Pādshāhs. They said; “You are a *mahaldār* in the service of Alli Adula Sāhu. It is strange that you should come to us instead of submitting your grievances to your master. It appears that you have come to us, without communicating the views expressed by the Narapati to your master.” The *mahaldār* replied, “I have not come without (at first) complaining to my master, etc.” It is evident from this conversation that Alli Adula Sāhu was not one of the three Pādshāhs that met at Jahalnāpura. Savāyi Jagajhampa Suguna Kannada Jāṇa is not the name of a person, but a string of titles. This passage appears to have been interpolated by a person, who was so ignorant that he did not even know the names of the three Muslim rulers who met at Jahalnāpura.

The names of the three Pādshāhs are mentioned in another place in this *Bakkair*. They are Nizām Sāha Pādusāha, Ibarāhim Kutapu Sāha, and Imāmāna Malaka Pādusāha. (See *L. R.* 24, pp. 154-55).

object of attending a dance, and sat in state in the *Vasanta Mahal** surrounded by the people of the seventy-two *viniyōgas*, the eighteen *kārkhānas* and twelve *mahals*† and learned men.

While the (three Pādusāhas) sat in state, surrounded by the men of the fifty-six countries, women danced, musicians sang, and persons skilled in playing on the *Vīṇā* played upon that instrument. While the three Pādusāhas were conversing with religious men, the *mahaldār* of Yadula Śāha Pādusāha presented himself before them and saluted them in a most respectful manner. Then he described graphically his experiences (at Vijayanagara). The three Pādusāhas listened attentively to what he said, and asked : " You are a Mahaldār (employed in the service) of Alli Yadula Śāha. It is strange that you should have come to us (with this complaint) instead of submitting it to your master. It appears that you have come to us without communicating to your master the opinion which the Narapati had expressed. How do you account for this ? " To this the *mahaldār* replied :

" I have not come (here) without (first) complaining to my master." (Having given this reply), he then explained to them how his master, to whom he had complained, attaching no value to his statement, said " I have acquired the status of being called a son of Rājabhūvara ; and I will not raise my hand against him," and added : " (Having been thus brushed aside), I have approached you."

When the three Pādusāhas heard carefully, the story of the *mahaldār*, they became indignant, and said, " what honour has the Rājabhūvara himself ? " They resolved that they should make war upon him and devastate the whole of Karnāta causing (Rājabhūvara) loss by way of punishment.‡ Summoning their *āṣṭapradhānas*, captains

* *Malliga* (*Malige*)—I.O.M., p. 161.

† A long list of the seventy-two *viniyōgas* and other offices given in the text (pp. 265-7) is omitted from this translation.

‡ and force him to carry and eat the abominable food of his religion.—I.O.M., p. 171.

commanders, the officers of the war department, and the holders of the seventy-two *viniyōgas*, they commanded them to prepare the army for war. They also directed that the tents should be pitched outside (the precincts of the city). Accordingly the armies of the three Pādusāhas together with the men of seventy-two *viniyōgas* prepared themselves for war thus :

The troops of Akhabara Jalāladīn* Mogal Pādusāha, the lord of Jahalnāpura : (horses, archers, the camp guard, lancers, and *kottala dēkhies*).

The superior <i>Kottala</i> horse†	...	12,000
The archers	...	5,00,000
The foot-soldiers guarding the tents and the luggage	...	5,000
The lancers		50,000
Guns capable of shooting balls weighing 5 mds.	...	4,600
Guns capable of shooting balls weighing 2 mds.	...	5,000
Do. do. 1 md.	...	6,000
The manufacturers of ammunition	...	25,120
Elephants	...	1,00,000
Camels	...	2,00,000
Palanquins	...	50,000
Camel guns	...	7,840
Gunners	...	870
Bugles	...	860
Carts	...	60,000
Foot-soldiers	...	2,50,00,000

* I. O. M., p., 171 has the following note :—

The great Akbar succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1556; he died in A.D. 1605.

The battle was fought in A.D. 1564.

It is possible that he might have assisted the confederacy with some auxiliary troops especially as it was considered a war for the protection of their (Mussalman) religion, though the accommodating nature of Akbar's religious principles is well known. It is not, however, mentioned in Ferishta's account of the war.

† Sometimes called *doasp*. To provide against eventualities, each trooper took with him a spare-horse so that each cavalier had two horses.

<i>Rekhali</i> s	...	8,000
Elephant guns	...	9,650
Swivel guns (<i>Jajās</i>)	...	12,960
Tom toms	...	94,320
*Fire lock men	...	9,640

Nizām Šāha Bhairy, the king of Daulatābād, and Alli Yadula Šāha Pādusāha Savāyī Jagajhampa Suguna Kannada Jāṇa prepared likewise their armies (for war).† The three Pāduśāhas having thus made ready the army comprising elephants, horses, chariots, and men, distributed among them (the necessary articles). Then, they hoisted their respective banners on their tents, and were ready to march against the Narapati.

Timmāji Bhīmāji, an ambassador (*hazib*) of Rājabhūvara, who was camping at that time in Jahalnāpūr, having learnt that the armies of the three Pāduśāhas had marched for the war, sent a spy to inform his master (of the events that took place there).‡ The spy reached (Vijayanagara), and delivered the message of the ambassador to the Narapati, expressing at the same time some of his own views (on the matter).

On the day of Vijayadaśami, the Narapati held in a beautiful garden,§ a durbar which was attended by all his ministers, captains, officers of the war department, and the men of the seventy-two kinds of *viniyōgas*.

* These are not mentioned in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library copy of the ms.

† 'This was the strength of Akbar Jallalodeen's force and an equal number was collected by Nizām Shāh Biery of Daulatābād. The forces of Alli Adil Shāh Savāyee Jagajhampa Suguna Kanara Jāṇa were equally numerous.'—I. O. M., p. 171.

There appears to be a lacuna here. The author who gives a detailed account of the army of one of the three allies should have given a similar account in the case of the other two. The inclusion of the name of Alli Adula Šāhu Pāduśāhu is a mistake, which any author caring for consistency would not have committed. Here the original account, whether it was of Rāmāji Tirumal or of some one else, appears to have suffered from the hands of an ignorant editor or restorer.

‡ 'Sent an express to their master to Beejanagar by Davaloojee-Jasood advising of their preparations.'—I. O. M., p. 171.

§ 'Upon this on the Dasara Rama Rayaloo sat in his Mahal in the Manoharavānam.'—I. O. M., p. 172.

(The most important nobles) that were present in the durbar were : *

Piddige Jakkaṇa (Padeenee Jackana) Nāyaka
 Madagamāśūru Virūpaṇṇa (Virapa) Nāyaka
 Ikkēri Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka
 Sōde (Soonda) Raghuṇātha Nāyaka
 Citrakallu Sīnappa (Sasapa) Nāyaka
 Chandavārada Bhīma Nāyaka
 Kollārada Kēsi (Kērallarada Kasee) Nāyaka
 Bidanūru (Bidamūru) Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka
 Sakarepaṭṇada Jakkaṇṇa Nāyaka
 Ādavāni Venkaṭapati Nāyaka
 Sireda Purpa (Parupoo) Nāyaka
 Talavāra Timmaṇa Nāyaka
 Penagonḍa (Pennakonḍa) Ellappa Nāyaka
 Ballāpurada Elli (Alla) Nāyaka
 Śrīrangapattanada Rāmarāju
 Guḍikōṭa Aeyuta Nāyaka
 Baṅkāpurada Ellappa Nāyaka
 Nandyāla Sadāśiva Nāyaka
 Dēvanahalli Hanumappa (Hanumanta) Nāyaka
 Harpanahalli Peddi Nāyaka
 Tādipatri Bisalappa Nāyaka
 Guttī Timmappa Nāyaka
 Kaḍapa Venkaṭapati Nāyaka

The Narapati Pādusāha addressed them and said :—

“ The four Mussalman Pādusāhas,† having combined their troops are together marching upon us with the object of conquering Karnāṭaka. Collecting all your troops, and increasing their number by recruiting fresh soldiers, proceed

* The I. O. M. presents some variations in the names; and they are indicated within brackets.

† Instead of the usual ‘three Pādusāhas,’ we have here four. This discrepancy is more apparent than real. Rāmarāja, who was probably under the impression that ‘Ali’ Ādil Shāh had also joined the others, naturally referred to the Mussalman rulers as four.

against the enemy, and offer them a determined resistance as if you are fighting for stakes. Strike the enemy boldly in his face so as to demonstrate your manliness. Bring glory (to us) by turning them back (from the field of battle)."

(The Narapati) encouraged his ministers and nobles in several ways. Then he caused to be brought from the *jamādār-khāna* (wardrobe) suitable cloths (such as) lace-embroidered *jaladāhari-kimujāfina** jackets (*kuḍata*), mantles stuffed with cotton (*dagali*), double shawls made of (satin) † *fēzare*, costly stuffs of various colours, shawls of saffron, crimson,‡ rose, and white. Bandar prints, *sakalāti*, *sultāni*, and green woollen stuffs, *kalasiyadade...safeda durangi* broad cloth,§ *jamēdāris*,¶ laced trousers and turbans, *tukumābandūks*,|| embroidered cloths (?), upper vests with flower patterns, and turbans; pearl and *kaliki*-crests, necklaces, bangles set with gems, *mōhana-mālas*||, pendants, and *kundalas* (ear-rings) set with the nine kinds of gems, and other valuable jewels; and the weapons of thirty-two kinds such as shield, sword, discus, bow and arrows, *nāga*,** *bhindivāla*,†† lance, club, goad, etc., which he distributed among them, and persuaded them in spirited, dignified, witty and sweet words (to fight). Next he paid the annual and monthly allowances for their families as becoming their position, and sent them home. Then the Narapati, the hero of the heroes, sat in council with the seven councillors,

* Meaning not intelligible. Silk and embroidered vests and jackets—*I.O.M.*, p. 173.

† Meaning not intelligible.

‡ *Jafarānilāki*.

§ *Safed* means white; *durangi* is two coloured; but as the meaning of the previous words is not clear, it is not possible to know what kind of cloth is referred to here.

¶ Meaning is not known.

|| A kind of mantle which is fastened at the waist by a button.

|| Chains worn round the neck; from *mōh mā*=love, *māla*=chain—*I.O.M.*, p. 173.

** A serpentine weapon.

†† An arrow or shaft discharged from a tube.

viz., *durgādhyakṣa*, *dhanādhyakṣa*, *dharmādhyakṣa*, *sainyādhyakṣa*, *purōhita*, *dūta** and *daivajñā†*, and resolved to march against the enemy.

On the third day after the decision in the council to march upon the enemy, the spies brought information to the Rāya, in the palace, that the three Pāduśāhas sent the following message to Allī Yadula Śāha Pāduśāha:‡ “ We three, having combined our armies, are marching together to conquer Karnāṭa, the kingdom of the Narapati. You should also march for war. As we intend to pass through the country which is under your control, we request you to allow us to march along that road. You should join us, and conquer Karnāṭaka (fighting the enemy) pertinaciously ”.

Allī Yadula Śāha, as soon as he received this message, sent them a reply, thus :

“ I should not raise up my hand in opposition to Rājabhūvara. I have acquired the privilege of being called his son. I should not be treacherous (to him) in any manner.”

(Yadula Śāha) delivered this message to the *hēzībs* (of the three Pāduśāhas), and having honoured them, by presenting them suitable gifts such as dresses (of honour), ear-rings, necklaces, pendants, crests, horses and elephants, he gave them permission to depart.

Then Rājabhūvara received a despatch from his *karakāra* Nāgōji Nārāyaṇa who was at the camp of the three Pāduśāhas. He informed his master that the three Pāduśāhas sent an envoy to (the court of) Allī Yadula Śāha, (inviting him to join them), but he declined to accede to their request declaring that he would not oppose the Narapati Pāduśāha. As a similar despatch arrived, at the same time, from the Vijaya-nagara envoy stationed at (the court of) Allī Yadula Śāha,

* *Purādhyakṣa*—I.O.M., p. 174.

† *Devastan*—Ibid.

‡ If Allī Yadula Śāha Pāduśāha were one of the three Muslim rulers who met at Jahalnāpūr, there would have been no need for sending this message.

Rājabhūvara was immensely delighted. Then the Narapati Pādusāha sent with the *Sēnāpati* Bisalappa Nāyaka valuable dresses, a crest set with pearls, ear-rings, necklaces, and five pairs of *kottal* horses to Allī Yadula Śāha who being greatly pleased with (the honour done to him) received them in the durbar. In return, he sent with Bisalappa elephants, horses, jewels and dresses including jewelled turbans, and superior shawls, and commanded one of his *vakils* to accompany him to Vijayanagara.

Now the *hēzībs* of the three Pādusāhas (who were at Bijāpūr) informed their respective masters that Allī Yadula Śāha and Rājabhūvara, having joined together (in an alliance), were uniting their territories. On the receipt of this information, they sent to Allī Yadula Śāha a *subēdār* of considerable influence with the object of (dissuading him from joining Rājabhūvara). The *subēdār*, as soon as he reached (Bijāpūr), (repaired to the presence of) Allī Yadula Śāha and expostulated with him thus: "You are a Mussalman sovereign; it is not advisable that you should join your kingdom with that of an infidel Hindu. This course of action brings you neither greatness nor glory. Let the past bury the past. Now, at least, be well advised and join the three Pādusāhas. If you four, joining together, unite your territories, and fight the Hindu infidel without caring for his favour, in such a manner as to conquer Karnāṭaka, you acquire glory. If you do not listen to us, you will be ruined, and your country will be devastated. When you become an exile, you lose your honour. You are an intelligent (King) with considerable foresight. By joining (the three Pādusāhas), you will become great; and the four kingdoms will acquire renown; and you will remain safe."*

When Allī Yadula Śāha heard this counsel, he reflected (as follows):—

"Why should I accept their advice and break my (plighted) word? I must send the three Pādusāhas a reply

* The original has 'ninna bajāvu idhī': *bajāvu* probably is the Kannada corruption of Urdu *bachao* meaning safety, security, etc.

which will enable me to keep the goodwill of both the parties.” Then he delivered an ambiguous message to the *subēdār*. “As soon as I should join.....Rājabhūvara is a powerful Pādusāha. Paying attention to what I am saying, arrange the affairs with foresight, so that victory should be won !”*

Having delivered this message to the *subēdār*, he honoured him according to his position by presenting him cloths and jewels, and sent him away. The *subēdār* returned to (the camp of) the three Pādusāhas, and told them how he had communicated their message to Allī Yādula Śāha.

(Meanwhile) news reached Vidyānagara that the Three Pādusāhas having entered into an agreement with Allī Yādula Śāha were marching forward. As soon as this information reached the *Sēnāpati* Bisalappa Nāyaka, he communicated it to Rājabhūvara. In the same manner, all the ministers submitted to the king (and said),—†.

“ You, whom people call Navakōti Nārāyaṇa, are a great monarch of extraordinary prowess.‡ You should not abandon this affair at this juncture. The enemies having bravely advanced are beginning to arrive. If you remain inactive, (they) will increase in turbulence, harass and ruin the

* The passage in the original is very corrupt. It is not possible to make out the exact sense. There is probably a lacuna here in the text. Therefore only the gist of the passage is given.

The corresponding portion in the *I.O.M.* runs thus :—

“ He observed to the Subedar that Ramarauze was very powerful and to attempt his entire subversion was a serious matter requiring serious deliberation and much more powerful support than his ; that by all means it was necessary to weigh well the measures proper for conquering him in war.”—*I.O.M.*, p. 177.

† *I.O.M.*, p. 177 has the following :—

“ Bisalapa Naik, the Senapati of the Narapatee, having information that the Badshahs had prevailed on Ally Adil Shah to join them and that they were about marching into his dominions acquainted Ramarayaloo together with his ministers thereof addressing him as follows :—

‡ ‘King over all Kings, Navakōti Narayan, sovereign of countless treasures.’—*I.O.M.*, p. 178.

whole realm, and plunder and carry away the ryots as prisoners of war. The enemies should be put down in time. On this occasion, without hesitating to spend money, you should gather all kinds of forces, by honouring the *vazirs*, *umrās*, and men of noble families with the presentation of jewels suited to their status and dignity."

When the Narapati heard this petition of the *astapradhānas*, commanders, captains and other officers of the whole kingdom,* he was greatly delighted, and having caused money to be brought from the treasury, he distributed it with *tāmbulas* to all the courtiers and sepoys; he then commanded that the war materials and the tents should be taken outside the city; and despatched (towards the frontier) some companies of his faithful vanguard. Then he retired into the zenana.

(Rājabhūvara) went into the palace of his senior wife, Satyabhāmā.† He seated himself on a jewelled cot‡ . . . he who possessed the eight *aiśvargas* enjoyed the eight *bhōgas*. Then he visited the houses of his sixty-four wives such as Dēvacintāmani,§ Tiruveṅgalamma, Subhadra, Mitravinda, Jāmbavati, Rādhā, (Mōhiṇī, Cāmavarnī etc.),\$ and presented to them valuable articles even as he had done to his first wife, —and drank with them. Next, he distributed presents to all. Having thus honoured his sons, friends, and wives, he climbed up to the *candraśāla* where his mother was dwelling and prostrated himself at her feet with great humility. His mother, who was greatly delighted, blessed him and having waved (before him) (a plate) filled with the gems of nine varieties and flowers made of gold to avert evil eye, she

* When this despatch was perused in the Great Council of State when the 8 pradanees, the Dalavoy Sēnāpatee and other chiefs were present &c.—*I. O. M.*, p. 178.

† Sattee Banna.—*I. O. M.*, p. 178.

‡ A portion of the text which enumerates the jewels, dress, flowers, etc., which Rājabhūvara is said to have presented to his wife is not translated as it is of no historical value.

§ Chintamani—*I. O. M.*, p. 182.

\$ These two names are not mentioned in *I. O. M.*

distributed them in charity among the Brahmans. Then she led her son into her palace, and offered him several presents.

Then, the Narapati, spoke to his mother as follows : " The three Pāduśāhas, have joined together, and revolted against me ; and having declared war, they are marching upon Karnātaka with the object of subjugating it. This is a country where *dharma* flourishes. This virtuous kingdom has been given to the gods and the Brahmans. Why should their (the Mussalman) authority be exercised in this state which contains shrines of gods, holy places of pilgrimage and learned men ? By your favour, and the grace of our family deities, all the people that are (under me) do not lack military force and wealth to protect these. I desire to march against the enemy) with all my troops, and destroy them in a battle. What advice would you give me ?"

When (Rājabhūvara) asked the permission of his mother in these terms, she was much distressed, and said : ' You are the Narapati; a great Pāduśāh. The reigns of the kings of seven generations have passed by this time. They (the Mussalman kings) have remained in their places of respect up to the present.* It is not known whether the time is unfavourable to them (your enemies) or to you. Owing to the adverseness of the circumstances, (the enemies) causing much trouble, are advancing (on us). Well, it is the consequence of the indebtedness of the preceding birth. You are a boy. Why should you provoke their enmity ? Having regard for the circumstances, it is better to act in accordance with the trend of events, and conclude peace with the enemy'.†

* "As mighty sovereigns, the Narapatty race have now reigned without misfortune or interruption through a line of Seven of your Royal Ancestors and predecessors to this time; neither until now did these three Kings entertain enmity towards us but remained quiet within their dominions."—I. O. M., p. 183.

† The original of this passage is very corrupt and unintelligible. The passage is thus summarised in I. O. M., p. 183—"If you approve of my council it will be best to wait a little for the issue of the present matters &c. and to consider how the peace may be still preserved."

Rājabhūvara* who was greatly displeased with this advice, said, “‘While I have attained the status of the great Narapati king, and am honoured with the title of *aprati-parākrama*’ (unequalled in prowess), what is their greatness (when compared to mine)? They had been my dependents, and were ruling the lands which I granted to them. Is not my prestige lowered, if I attempt to negotiate the terms of peace (with them)? Even if I desire to fight with them continuously, until I secure victory, I do not lack the means. Therefore, I have made up my mind to fight with the enemy.”

His (Rājabhūvara’s) mother, on hearing this, was greatly delighted, and catching hold of his hand, she blessed him much, wished that he should win victory. Then, having seated him upon a throne, she showered on him gold like a rain of flowers, and blessing him again said, “May the enemy be vanquished!” Then she offered prayers to the gods, and gave her consent (in these terms) “Return home a victor.”

Rājabhūvara then entered the Sangāta Mahal where he rested awhile on a couch and slept. While he was asleep at night, he dreamt that (some unknown persons) forcibly removed the pearls from his ear-rings. He woke up, and having stretched his body, invoked Hari (Viṣṇu), and as his mind was greatly perturbed, he became a prey to acute distress. Next morning, he summoned Brahmans who were well versed in all the Vedas and the *śāstras*, and described to them his dream. The Brahmans said: “(the effect of) the dream is destroyed; the gods have shown their favour; be tranquil”; and blessed him much. But the king who was not satisfied (with this assurance) said, “I never dreamed such an evil dream. I never incurred the displeasure of God. Ruin has overtaken (my) prosperity; the goddess of wealth, and (my) family deities are angry with me. What is the use of my efforts, after I have lost the grace of the gods? Well, (this is) the result of the debt contracted in the former birth; but courage must not be

andoned. As long as I have courage, so long shall I strive. nothing can go contrary to destiny. No useful purpose is served by my sorrow."

While the king sat reflecting in this manner, the learned men restored tranquillity (to his mind), and blessing him in fitable terms, said, " May your enemies be defeated ! May you rule for ever as a permanent sovereign, with the longevity of Mārkaṇḍeya, having conquered your enemies, and established yourselves as a *Chatrapati*." (The king) then distributed charity with his usual generosity jewels set with gems among the assembled Brahmans, and sent them away. Having bathed, he sent for the Brahmans once again, and gave them fifty thousand rupees in charity. He next summoned astrologers to his presence, and asked them to fix an auspicious hour for starting. He had the tent pitched outside (the city) in the *amṛta-siddhi-yoga*, (according to the instructions of the astrologers), and left the palace and Vidyānagara at 11 o'clock, riding upon his swift steed Rājahamsa by name, accompanied by the holders of the seventy-two *viniyoga*s. Arriving at the place near the Navagaja war-drum, on the northern side (of the city), he halted there. The officers of the seventy-two *viniyoga*s such as the *astaprādhānas*, *dalavāys*, commanders etc., and of the eighteen *kārkhānas* and the twelve *mahals* lay encamped with their respective forces to the right and left of the royal tent. In response to a proclamation summoning all the troopers residing in Vidyānagara on pain of punishment, all the men gathered (at the camp), saying " are our lives dearer than that of the king ? "

The king then summoning the *astaprādhānas*, *pārupatyagārs*, princes, *Dalavāyi* Sadāśiva Nāyaka, and Gopālayya of the *Jamēdārkhāna* commanded them to distribute presents among the *vazirs*, *umrās*, foot-soldiers and important *jamātidārs* as well as all estate-holders, *pālaigārs*, *mahaldārs*, and all the people belonging to the *pālaims* and provinces. He then handed

over to them for distribution the *honnus* of the following kinds :—

Acyutarāya's	<i>mole</i>	...	9,45,321
<i>Jadamole-honnu</i>	„	...	1,43,698
<i>Hosa</i> (new)	„	...	98,765
Ānegondi	„	...	19,866
Ikkeri	„	...	24,320
Rāja (king)	„	...	30,680
<i>Mēlu</i>	„	...	9,10,430
Gutti	„	...	19,676
Madira	„	...	63,348
Hosūru	„	...	68,764
Hanumanta	„	...	14,369
Aghōra	„	...	9,677
Yallūru	„	...	87,683
<i>Nāgarappanis</i>	„	...	96,333
	„	...	<u>1,35,07,709*</u>

Vādeda	„	...	98,768
Hosakere	„	...	63,432
Ādavāni	„	...	50,640
Honnattikkēri	„	...	64,470
Raghunātha	„	...	60,860
Kāvēri	„	...	90,750
Kṛṣṇapādi	„	...	1,08,640
Paraśurāma	„	...	80,530
Śivārāma	„	...	1,08,640
Vāmana	„	...	60,420
Sitārāma	„	...	8,00,580
Sāgara	„	...	1,08,640
Cannangirāja	„	...	2,06,430
Node	„	...	3,04,866
Timmānāyaka	„	...	6,06,730
Śrinanga	„	...	5,06,809

¹¹ The total does not tally with the sum of the figures given above.

Rāmatenke	<i>mole</i>	...	6,07,320
Brahma	„	...	6,08,480
Total	...		<u>4,22,43,370 *</u>

Having thus distributed the *honnus* of the above varieties, among all the people as presents, he commanded all the soldiers to put on the armour, and be ready for the battle arming themselves with weapons and muskets. Then, summoning all the couriers in the service of the government, he ordered them to inform all the sepoys that all of them should be present at the muster next morning. Accordingly they attended the muster thus :—

Horses	...	...	65,48,321
Camels	...	...	18,74,429
Elephants	...	...	18,768
Gun powder (according to weight)	...	...	9,87,76,413 (mds.)
Cannon balls	9,87,65,43,21,00,00,000		

Thus, these were brought to muster. Moreover, a muster of the infantry was thus taken :—

Foot-soldiers	...	...	12,39,430
Sappers (?) (<i>Hunnaravānaru</i>)	...	...	33,460
<i>Sīredadarleyavaru</i> (?)	...	...	34,567
Swordsmen	...	...	45,987
Men with swivel guns	...	...	57,965
†Gunners (<i>Gōlandāzaru</i>)	...	...	43,876
Drummers and trumpeters	...	...	45,678
Total	...		<u>15,00,963</u>

Adhāyekāraru (?) :—

Swimmers (<i>Igekāraru</i>)	...	43,620
Divers	...	15,940
Men with broadswords	...	43,432

* The total does not tally with the sum of the figures given above.

† The word means 'the throwers of balls'.

Arrow makers	...	97,645
<i>Huyalusavāraru</i> (?)	...	98,964
Princes and relations	...	48,976
Wearers of iron helmets or caps		6,456
Officers	...	4,562
	Total	3,44,954 *

Troops other than these† :—

<i>Parangis</i> (Franks : Portuguese ?)		3,454
Couriers	...	3,454
<i>Mahaldārs</i>	...	4,595
Mace-bearers	...	6,486
Spies	...	4,686
Augurs (<i>sāstrikaru</i>)	...	4,864
Camel men	...	5 .. 8
Superintendents of stables	...	4,686
Camel grooms	...	4,876
<i>Purāyikas</i>	...	4,687
Singers	...	4,896
Dancing women	...	5,798
Players on <i>Vīṇā</i>	...	438

Adhānekars (?) :—

Masons	...	4,376
Thatchers	...	3,766
Polishers of weapons	...	3,763
Saddlers	...	3,763
Carpenters	...	4,320

[Account of the artillery &c.] :—

Big guns	...	2,343
Small guns	...	324
<i>Rāmazangis</i>	...	762
Elephant guns	...	9,876

* The total given here is faulty.

† In addition to the items given in this part of the list, 5,786 *Mashījées* are mentioned in the India Office translation of the *Bakhair*.

Camel guns	...	...	7,454
<i>Rekhala</i> s (small guns)	...	...	6,543
Big <i>Rāmarangis</i> ...	...	...	7,640
<i>Gāḍadāiyavaru</i> (cart-drivers ?)	...	...	4,321
Shield-bearers	...	...	4,976
Messengers	...	...	4,567
Money changers	...	...	3,643
Sweepers	...	...	3,776
Hukkāh-bearers	...	...	4,597
* <i>Kallaru</i> (?)	...	...	6,787
<i>Bōyaru</i> (Palanquin bearers)	...	...	5,476

(Description in the same manner as the above of ammunition).

<i>Rāmabāṇas</i> (a kind of bomb)	...	...	6,783
<i>Jamjas</i>	...	...	9,87,656
<i>Humteguruli</i> (?)	...	...	98,76,432
<i>Matāpugala</i> (blue light)	...	...	98,76,54,320
<i>Tārāmaṇḍala</i>	...	...	65,94,321
<i>Bhūcakra</i>	...	...	76,768
War carts	...	...	4,321
Spear bearers (<i>Bharjibāra-dāraru</i>)	...	...	7,678
<i>Firavānarū</i> (?)	...	...	4,897
Bhats	...	...	4,577
Braziers	...	...	3,376
<i>Bārābalūti</i> &c :	...	...	76,321

Details other than these :

Learned men	...	...	4,876
Poets	...	...	5,787
Players on the <i>Vīṇa</i> ...	...	...	465

* The word means 'thieves'. It is not known why they were included in the army. Probably they are the same as *kallaru sephāhis* mentioned in a different context in 'Bakhair.' The India Office translation refers to *Kallaris* 4,567, *Rogues* 6,789, *travancaras* 4,897, *Banttas* 4,579.

Keepers of time			
with metallic rods	...	...	579
Time-keepers	...	...	479
Blacksmiths	...	...	3,736
Goldsmiths	...	...	3,775

Having taken muster, in this fashion, Rājabhūvara commanded that all his elephants should be led before him for investing them with armour and the weapons. The following were led before him in obedience to his order.*

When the elephants were thus brought before him, he had them invested with armour, weapons, and howdahs, in which were placed bows and arrows. In addition to these animals, he caused to be led (before him) 1,000 elephants for bearing standards, 2,000 for carrying *jajāyis* and 3,000 for carrying guns. Then he alighted with the holders of seventy-two kinds of *niyōgas* and troops in a camp which extended breadthwise for eighty miles from the banks of the Tungabhadrā to those of the Kṛṣṇā. Rājabhūvara took up his quarters between the villages of Tāvaragere and Kṛṣṇagiri.

On the other side, Nizām Śāha Bhairy Pāduśāha, the lord of the throne of Daulatābād, crossed the river, Bhīmarathī, and pitched his tents outside Sultānpūr alias Ferōzābād. Akhabara Jalāvudīnu Pāduśāha halted outside the fort. Wahib Rahimbal Kutupu Śāha lay encamped with his army between Mudgal and Rājeūr in Telingāna. Imam-ul-mulk, the king of Varhād, as well as Alli Yadula Śāha Pāduśāha, the lord of the throne of Bijāpūr, marched with their respective armies and halted at the fort of Jamalghar on the Kṛṣṇā.† The armies of the Mussalman kings were seen everywhere. Crowds of foot-soldiers, Pindāris, arrow-makers, with the *kallar*-sepoyes

* A long list of the names of elephants found in the text (pp. 277-78) is not included in the translation, as it is of no value.

† "Vaheebrahim Cootbood Shah Padsha of Terlinga encamped together with Allee Adil Shah of Besjapore near Jamalgud on the bank of 'Kistna River' and no mention in this context is made of Imamanamutt."—*J. O. M.*, p. 195.

longing to their armies, having crossed the Kṛṣṇā began plunder the territory belonging to Rājabhūvara, and slew some of his subjects, and carried away others as prisoners. The people of these regions began to migrate to the villages, towns, forts and cities all over Karnātaka.

Rājabhūvara thus commanded his officers and the army ; " 10,000 horse, 20,000 foot with all their equipment should take their place) outside the Jinugubāzāar ".* Turning to his *vazirs*,† he said, " Post yourselves with your respective contingents and the implements of war outside the fortier." Then the innumerable *vazirs* of the Kṣatriya caste‡ halted outside Rākṣasataṅgadī, with all their troops.

A description of the war material :—

Machines (Guns ?)§ :—

Big size	...	3,000
Medium size	...	4,000
Small size	...	1,000

Thus the machine-bearers stood all around the army which contained innumerable swivel-musqueteers, bomb-makers and foot-soldiers. The varieties of *bāṇas* (arrows or bombs) :—

(Pack) bullocks, 4,00,000 in number laden with the four kinds of *bāṇas*, viz., *Dhanurbāṇas* (arrows), *Rāmabāṇas*, *Kumāra-bāṇas* and *Candibāṇas* came and halted. In the same manner, un-powder and shots of a fine variety were caused to be wrought, and were distributed among all (the soldiers).§

Having thus equipped his troops with war material, the Jarapati posted them to their respective places where they had

* " For the protection of the grain bazaar ".—I.O.M.

† " and chiefs he commanded them to march from that ground and to encamp with his army near Racharlangada ".—Ibid.

‡ A few meaningless epithets qualifying the Kṣatriya *vazirs* are left out.

§ Machines (guns ?) are not mentioned in I.O.M. ; but carriages 5,000 in number are found in their place.

¶ The passage in the original is very corrupt. Only the gist is given.

to fight in the battle. He assigned their work and distributed presents and jewels such as wristlets set with gems, necklaces, ear-rings, coronets, *kaustubhas*, rings, crests &c., and new and rare* dresses among his captains, *aṣṭapradhānas*, *dalavāys* and to Bisalappa Nāyaka, Tiruvengala Nāyaka, Kārtika Nāyaka, Virappa Nāyaka,† and others whom he had summoned to his presence, and said, "The Muhammadan Pāduśāhas are advancing upon us; taking with you the necessary material of war, fight with them well." As soon as he gave them the command, they shifted the camp from Rākṣasataṅgadī to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā.

The *harakāras*, *cōdēdārs*, and others‡ who were in the service of the four Mussalman Pāduśāhas communicated this information to their employers. All§ the Pāduśāhas having met together, summoned (to their presence) their (respective) *vazirs*, *umrās*, captains, *aṣṭapradhānas*, and *dalavāys* and distributed presents (among them), and said, "Now that the Narapati Pāduśāha lies encamped outside Rākṣasataṅgadī with all his army, we must not lag behind any more." (Then) they summoned the officers of the arsenals and commanded them (to hand over to the army),

Big guns	...	...	40,000
Medium guns	...	...	5,000
Small guns	...	...	60,000
Swivel guns	...	...	5,000
Elephant Guns	...	...	1,00,000
|| <i>Lēkhīs</i>	...	...	12,000
Camel guns	...	...	5,56,000

* 'Aṣḍya' in the original. It means 'not marvellous, -not strange?' but context requires a meaning quite opposed to it.

† 'Budala Naik', Teeroovangal Naik, Kartuk Naik, Veerppa Naik'—I.O.M., p. 196.

‡ I.O.M., p. 196 'Haricarrahs and spies'. Cōdēdārs were a class of servants the nature of whose duties is not known; the text has *haharu sahatiru sāha sahavāgi* which is not quite intelligible.

§ The original has 'nālādrū' which means 'several'.

¶ The original has 'Jagatakhāna'; it probably means 'arsenal'.

|| I.O.M. has 4,000.

|| The nature of this weapon is not clear. I.O.M. p. 197 has 'Rockets'.

Musquets	...	...	4,00,000
(Other) weapons	...	...	5,00,000 *
<i>Hatyārigaṇu</i>	...	...	2,00,000 †
Archers	...	...	3,00,000
<i>Gāḍadēru</i> and Farangis	...	...	2,00,000

And having summoned in this manner all the officers, the Pāduśāhas commanded them to fight well with Rājabhūvara. Having received the order, they set out and arriving at the distance of a *yōjana* of Rākṣasataṅgadī, where Rājabhūvara was encamped, halted there.

Then, Nizām Śāha Pāduśāha and Ibarāhitu Śāha Imāmu Kutubu Śāha, these two‡, having met together began to unite their forces. Next, they resolved to fight stubbornly as they had already planned ; and having opposed (the enemy), they commenced the battle. The Narapati who noticed this (manoeuvre), having called all his officers, united his troops, and said that they should fight so as to bring glory to their soldiership. Accordingly, they marched to the battle§. Imāmana Mulkuna Pāduśāha having moved§ to one side, with his army, marched to the battle. The Karnāṭaka army having noticed this marched forward bravely¶. It is not possible to describe the armies, which had joined in a fearful battle of artillery ||. Owing to the smoke (of artillery), the soldiers

* This is not mentioned in *I. O. M.*

† *Hatyāra* means a weapon. What kind of weapon it stands for here is not quite evident.

‡ The second name appears to be a combination of two names Ibrāhim Kutub Shāh and Imām-ul-Mulk. "Then Nizam Shāh and Cootbood Shāh formed a junction of their armies in one place and took an oath among themselves to fight courageously with good faith and valour."—*I.O.M.* pp. 197-8.

§ They marched "against the fort of Rāmarāyaloo and began the fight with a cannonade from their guns. The Narapattee beholding their endeavours sent for his officers and recommending them to seek for renown by valour in battle, they instantly moved out toward the enemy."—*I. O. M.*, pp. 197-8.

¶ The original has '*jekkalāvu kūḍi*' but its meaning is not intelligible. *I. O. M.* p. 198 has 'moved up to fight on the opposite side.'

|| *Himmattu hijidu*.

|| The text is corrupt; and the sense is not quite clear. 'And both parties standing opposite one another fired off their cannon in volleys at once.'—*I.O.M.*, p. 198.

could not see the faces of one another for three days ; the noise caused by the explosion of the bombs, and several other sounds such as *bhada-bhada-dham-dham* of the carts, *dhada-dhada-dhada* of the *sargolies*, *sara-sara-sara*, *sura-sura-sura*, and the *caṭa-caṭa-caṭa*, *caṭal* of the musquetary, and swish of the flying bullets (filled the atmosphere). The sepoys were engaged in a continuous hand to hand fight in one place for three days.* The Karnāṭaka forces distinguished themselves by the exhibition of considerable bravery†. Then, on Nizām Śāha Pāduśāha, the lord of the throne of Daulatābād, and Kutupu Śāha Pāduśāha, (the king) of the Telugu country joining their armies, both the sides fought stubbornly. It was not possible either to observe, hear or describe the incidents of the battle. Several were wounded and killed on both the sides. It is not possible to mention the number of the soldiers that disappeared.

Nizām Śāha Pāduśāha and Kutupu Śāha Pāduśāha were glad that they fought well and obtained renown in the great battle. Among these several people died (in battle). Believing that God had favoured them on account of the fruit of their *karma* they carried them to the rear.‡

Then, Allī Yadula Śāha Pāduśāha Kannadajāna, and Vāhimana Mulk Pāduśāha of *Tadōradēśa*,§ these two, keeping their armies ready (for battle) remained in their respective

* I.O.M. p. 198 has, 'Then the sepoys attacked each other and fought without looking behind them for three days.'

† 'and destroyed vast numbers of the enemy'—*Ibid*, p. 198.

‡ The sense of this passage in the original is not clear. The translation is only tentative. cf. I.O.M. p. 199. "Nizām Shāh Badsha and Cootbood Shāh were highly pleased with the reputation and renown they acquired by the resolution and valour of their troops displayed opposite the enemy in this glorious contest though earned at the expense of much loss of their people, yet they were pleased that God had saved their reputation and so they carried away the slain to be buried".

§ Vāhimana Mulk cannot be identified with Imāmāna Mulk, as the latter is said to have fought along on the side of Nizām Śāha, and Kutupu Śāha against Rājabhūvara. It is evident that Vāhimana Mulk who remained with Yadula Śāha without joining the battle must be a different person. Could he have been Barid-ul-Mulk? Again he is said to be a man of *Tadōradēśa* (cf. I.O.M., p. 198 'Condadadasam'). 'Detranu' of the text is of course a mistake for 'datānu' but what is *Tadōradēśa*? Could it be a corruption of *Bidārādēśa*?

places. They did not join the battle ; but remained (neutral),* ready to measure their strength, if, perchance, any (of the contending parties) attacked them.

The people besides the insignificant (soldiers), belonging to the armies of this Nizām Śāha Pādusāha Bhairavatu,† and Kutupu Śāha, the king of Telingāna—(excluding him who bears the name of the son)‡ that died during the course of this three days' battle are :

The desciption of the wounded§ :—

Nimbājī Kāle	...	1
Vīrōji Bāpu (Veenoojee Poor)	...	1
Sūra (Sūrya) Rāo	...	1
Ānkuśa Rao	...	1
Hasanāji	...	1
Yibarāyitu Khāna	...	1
Sujāta (Soogat) Khāna	...	1
Vimela (Ibrahim) Khāna	...	1
Mṛtyujā (Matooju) Bēgu	...	1
Siddī Habibullā (Habbubulla)	...	1
Hināyita Khāna	...	1
Mamada (Mahomed) Khāna	...	1
Dāvatu (Davoot) Khāna	...	1
Alli Khāna	...	1
Yēkalāsu (Akla) Khāna	...	1
Hajaratu Khāna	...	1
Hasana Khāna	...	1

* The sentence ends without a predicate.

† Bhairava is the family name of the Nizām Śāhi Kings.

‡ After 'i mūru divasa yuddha dolage', and before 'i nizāmaidhku Pādusāha &c.' there hangs loosely the phrase 'nāmānkitā putra ivana tappisi' meaning 'excluding him who bears the name of the son'. Probably it refers to Alli Yadula Śāha. There seems to be a lacuna here.

§ The list in the *I.O.M.* p. 200 presents certain variations which are indicated within the brackets. Though the total number of the wounded in the present ms. is said to be 25, there are only 23 names in the list. Some names such as Moorar Cawn, Hirarat Cawn, Valeel Cawn mentioned in *I.O.M.* are not found in this ms ; nor does Ibarāyati Khān. Alli Cawn of the latter find a place in the former.

Ambājī Rāo	...	...	1
Dhaļasōjala Rāo	...	...	1
Subba Rāo	...	...	1
Nāgōji Tukadēv (Tokkadēv)	...	...	1
Śivājī Rājā	...	...	1
Nāgōji Rājā (Ghassaly)	...	...	1
The total number of the wounded	...	25	

Those that were taken prisoners* :—

Alli Nāyaka	...	...	1
Muhammad Janab (Mahamarajulu Naik)	...	...	1
Abadula Nāyaka	...	...	1
Piru Nāyaka	...	...	1
Silālu (Yital) Nāyaka	...	...	1
Parasa Nāyaka	...	...	1
Malli (Mallu) Nāyaka	...	...	1
Nagōji Nāyaka	...	...	1
Timmā Nāyaka	...	...	1
Total	...	9	

The description of the dead † :—

Yellāji Tukudēvu (Allajee Muckdavoo)	...	1	
Jamātavāri (Jamadar) Tulasi Rāvu	...	1	
Kedārji Suryavamśa (Sooravunt)	...	1	
Cangāji Caṇḍagaha (Candrājee Condakar)	...	1	
Bhujabala Rāvu	...	...	1
Sulatāna (Soolatal) Khāna	...	...	1
Baḍe (Bada) Khāna	...	...	1
Mallika (Malluk) Sāhēbu	...	...	1
Hasana Khāna	...	...	1
Husēna Khāna	...	...	1
Akabata Khairu (Akbar Bera) Khāna	...	1	
Rahimatu Khāna	...	...	1

* This list comes after the succeeding one in *I. O. M.*; the last five names are not found in it; but they figure as a separate group taken prisoners in *I. O. M.*, p. 202.

†. Although the total is said to be 25, there are only 24 names given in the list. The variations in *I. O. M.* list are indicated in the brackets.

Mukharābu Alli Khāna	...	...	1
Mahammad Alli Khāna	...	...	1
Jāfar Alli Khāna	...	...	1
Rasūla Khāna	...	...	1
Siddi Murtujā Khāna	...	...	1
Bhujanga Rāvu	...	...	1
Subhāna Rāvu	...	...	1
Bāmse (Banku) Rāvu	...	...	1
Śiva Rāvu	...	...	1
Hindū Rāvu	...	...	1
Murāri Ghōrapađe	...	...	1
Rāmā Rāvu	...	...	1
			<hr/>
	Total	...	25

Rāmarāja's collection:—

(The description of those) that were taken prisoners*.

(Those) that were killed†:—

Raghuvappa Nāyaka	...	...	1
Kārtavīrya	...	...	1
Komāra Rāvu	...	...	1
Avadhūta Rāvu	...	...	1
Śivāji Rāvu	...	...	1
Amkuśa Rāvu	...	...	1
Śūraṇa Rāvu	...	...	1
Jagatīpati Rāvu	...	...	1
Mahīpati Rāvu	...	...	1
Bhujanga Rāvu	...	...	1
Yallāji (Allajee) Rāvu	...	...	1

* Under this item, no names are given; and the *Bakhair* passes on to the next item. This is a sure indication of a lacuna here. *I. O. M.* p. 202 gives the following five names:—

Seetal Naik, Parasa Naik, Mallu Naik, Nagojee Naik and Timma Naik.

These names are however included in the present ms. in the casualty list of the army of the Sultāns.

† As against the 24 names of this list *I. O. M.* has only 14; and Purandara Row of *I. O. M.* is not found here.

Timmā Nāyaka	...	...	1
Dēva Rāju	...	...	1
Seṭṭi Sāluva (Satteeraja Salluke)	...	...	1
Sōmanṇa Nāyaka	...	...	1
Dalavāyi Jagatīpati	...	...	1
Gōpālarāja	...	...	1
Rājakumāra	...	...	1
Śamkara Rāvu	...	...	1
Rājagopāla	...	...	1
Rājahamīsarāja	...	...	1
Sēnāpati Raghuvīra Nāyaka	...	...	1
Hulicarmada Sāranga Nāyaka	...	...	1
Hokalaghantē Vīrappa Nāyaka	...	...	1

(Those that were) wounded* :—

Silāra Khāna	...	...	1
Saidali	...	...	1
Lāla Śivāji Rāvu	...	...	1
Sulatānajī Rāvu	...	...	1
Hirōji (Eroojee) Rāvu	...	...	1
Kṛṣṇāji Rāvu	...	...	1
Daulatu Singu	...	...	1
Rāja Amkuśa	...	...	1
Rāja Bhīmāsana	...	...	1
Bhāskara Rāvu	...	...	1

Having thus heard (an account) of those that were captured, wounded and killed, Rājabhūvara summoned some of his *vazīrs*, *umrās*, big officers, and *jamāyatkārs*† with their troops, and, distributing presents among them, said :—

“ Be ready with all your troops in your respective places; but do not proceed to fight until our arrival.‡ Then, having

* As against 10 names of this list *I. O. M.* has 20. The additional names are: Somunah, Dalavoy Jagaputtee, Gopulroya, Rajakoomar, Sankararow, Rajagopal, Raja Hussanajee, Seenaputtee Ragoovera Naik, Hulicharmada Sarangana and Hokulagunte Veerapa Naik. It is interesting to note that 9 out of these 10 names are included in the previous list of the present ms.

† Jamadar.—*I. O. M.*, p. 202.

‡ The instructions of Rājabhūvara commence with the words ‘*Vairige bahumāna* ~~panchāna~~’ which means ‘having rewarded the enemy.’

collected all our forces with determination, we may prepare for battle and advance (upon the enemy)." Then he sent *Dalavāy* Girappa* Nāyaka and Pāvāda Nāyaka of *Jamādārkhāna*† to Allī Yadula Śāha Pādusāha with the (following) message :—

"Ever since your boyhood you acquired the privilege of being called our son. You came to us in your tender years, and sitting in our lap you played. We coaxed you and brought you up. You have now undertaken to perform an evil deed. It is not proper that you should join the three Mussalmans and attack us. We gave you protection, and conferred on you the three districts of Mudgal, Rāicūr and Ādavāni for defraying your milk and butter expenses. It is not good that you should join them and march upon us. May you be prosperous in the future."

Allī Yadula Śāha Pādusāha sent the following reply to this message :—

"I have not joined them willingly. Having forcibly entered my kingdom, they ruined it. There are extensive mountainous tracts in my dominions covered with jungles. They levelled down the hills, and having constructed roads wide enough to enable their cavalry to march (without difficulty) they entered my kingdom with violence. I have done nothing (to encourage them). I have in this fashion given you my heart, for having sat on your lap and acquired the honour of being called your son. I have done nothing contrary to this, and will not break my plighted word. Do not be vexed with me; I am (really) on your side; I am obliged to come here with my army by the force of circumstances and not willingly."

Having given this reply, he sent away the envoys with a few words suitable to the occasion.‡

* Veerapa.—*I. O. M.*, p. 202.

† The connection of Pāvāda Nāyaka with *Jamādārkhāna* is not mentioned in the *I. O. M.*

‡ 'He also at the same time gave him some secret messages to be communicated to Rama Rayaloo alone and then dismissed them with adequate presents.'—*I.O.M.*, p. 203.

The envoys, on their return, gave a detailed account of what had taken place to Rājabhūvara, and introduced to him the envoys and couriers of Allī Yadula Sāha whom they had brought with them, caused valuable dresses, pearl-*turāys*, waist-bands, shawls, shirts and laced-turbans to be distributed among them. (Moreover, Rājabhūvara) sent to Allī Yadula Sāha a fine cannon, and (some) valuable pearls.*

When Nizām Sāha Bhairy Pādusāha, the king of Daulatābād, Kutupu Sāha Pādusāha, the king of Gōlkonda-Telingāna, and Akabaru Jalādinu Mogali Pādusāha, the king of Jahalnāpūr, heard this news, they sent the (following) message to Allī Yadula Pādusāha :—

“ We and you, having united, commenced war upon Rājabhūvara.† Why did you secretly open negotiations with him, and send him royal dresses ? Why did he send you (presents) ? What is the reason for this ? You have yielded to intrigues and we shall not trust you. It is not proper that you should behave in this manner. We should all join together, and make war‡ upon the King of Kings (*rājarājana mēle*). We send you this message so that we may win the war. If you carry on your intrigues still, then we will be obliged to separate ourselves, and retire. There is no other (way). If you join us, well, our determination to wage war upon Rājabhūvara still holds good ; if, (on the contrary), you do not join us, well, we shall in future wage war on both you and Rājabhūvara together.”

To this message, Allī Yadula Sāha, who was alarmed, sent the (following) reply, with the couriers :—

“ Whatever you are planning is agreeable to me. I am willing to follow your advice.”

* The original has *durda* which means ‘the dregs of wine’ left at the bottom of a wine cup after drinking. Rājabhūvara would not have sent this as a present. Moreover, the epithet ‘valuable’ which qualifies this word is inapplicable. It is probable that the correct reading of the text is *durya* meaning a pearl.

† The text has *bandi* meaning plunder which does not suit the context.

‡ The text reads here *Tambi pohajyisi*. The meaning of these words is not clear.

The three monarchs who were greatly pleased with the message, dismissed the couriers from their presence, having given them (suitable) presents.

Then, Rājabhūvara moved to a plain outside (the village of) Rākṣasataṅgaḍi, and having set up *raṇaghāṇṭa* and *raṇastambha** he halted nearby. The whole of the Karnāṭaka army was massed together into one group. Then commenced the battle which lasted for twenty-seven days. Akhabara Jalāyin Mogala Pādusāha, the king of Jahalnāpuri, was encamped with Pathans, Rājaputs, Marāṭas, *vazirs* and feudatory princes in the midst of the forty streets (*vāḍa*) of Tālikōṭa. A fight took place near them.

The three Pādusāhas having united (their forces) advanced upon Rājabhūvara. The princes, the principal nobles, *vazirs*† and *umrās*, who were in the service of Rājabhūvara came with their respective forces and (fought) for nine hours since the morning. The battle was well-contested on both the sides. Several died in the fight and several were wounded.

The princes (*rājabiṇḍiyara*), *vazirs* and all the other (nobles) of Rājabhūvara secretly petitioned him (thus): "The three Pādusāhas having united (their troops) are advancing upon (us). We should not tarry behind but go forward, and, opposing them resolutely, destroy them‡. In this fashion, smiting them on their face, we should win the battle. Ali Yadula Śāha and Imāmunā (Mu)lk§, these two, still remain in their respective camps with their troops. It is unlikely that they should join the battle. (However), as they may deceive us, we place no trust in them. If you post 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot under a commander§, (to watch their movements),

* The words *raṇaghāṇṭa* and *raṇastambha* mean 'bell of battle' and 'pillar of battle' respectively. Their significance is not known. Probably, the army had to fight round them and defend them.

† 'The Vajeers of Rajaboovar named Rajacondovaroo together with other Vajeers &c.—*I. O. M.*, p. 204.

‡ 'It is necessary for us not longer to delay but to get behind them and at once destroy them all.'—*I. O. M.*, p. 205.

§ Emam Naik.—*Ibid.*, p. 205.

§ 'With Abbashee Naik.' *Ibid.*, p. 205. Text has 'Vabba Nayaka'; *Vabba*=*nāyaka*=one.

we shall calmly fight without anxiety against the enemy on this side, and win the victory”*.

Rāmarāja who was delighted to hear this petition of his servants, despatched troops, as requested by them. Then he gave presents to the petitioners, and new dresses to all his *vazirs*, and sent them to different places (on the battle-field) to fight. The battle then raged fiercely; Akhabara Jalādīnū Pāduśāha having fought (for a while), retreated from the field. Upon this, Mogalu Pāduśāha and Nizām Pāduśāha, these two, having joined together fought fiercely so as to destroy the enemy; but they were not able to maintain their own.† Nizām Śāha Pāduśāha and Kutupuśāha Pāduśāha withdrew with their forces to one side. The Karnātakas who were delighted (to see the enemy retreat) ignited simultaneously the fuses of a lakh of bombs. The army of the two Pāduśāhas fell into considerable disorder; several were killed and several wounded; and some of the soldiers fled to their native places. The two Pāduśāhas, (having rallied their troops), attacked (the Karnātaka army) once again.‡ The fight was well-contested on both the sides, and many people were killed. Thereupon,

* ‘We will undertake on our side to beat the enemy and punish them with little trouble.’ *Ibid*, p. 205.

† The text has *tambi pavujayisēnu*. The meaning is not intelligible. The translation is only tentative.

‡ ‘Mogalu Pāduśāha’ is a mistake due to a slip on the part of the author or the copyist of the chronicle. It should be Kutupu Śāha Pāduśāha as the following sentence clearly shows. “But Cootbood Shāh retreated from the conflict to a place of security for his defence; at this discomfiture and flight the Carnatic troops rejoiced.” cf. *I.O.M.*, p. 205.

The translation of the last sentence is tentative. The sentence in the text is *Avarige dāru kṛparālu ugallillavu*. The meaning of *kṛparālu* is not known, but the next sentence makes it clear that the Muhammadans had to retreat; hence the translation.

‡ many troops of the two Badshahs were killed or wounded and the rest fled to their encampment. Great numbers also were slain of the army of Rama Rayaloo by those of the two Badshahs and Rama Rayaloo being highly enraged at the great destruction gave the most urgent orders to his *vazirs* and officers to renew the fight.”—*I.O.M.*, p. 207.

This is absurd. Rāmarāja who had just beaten the Mussalmans could not have been desirous to continue the fight with the retreating enemy, unless he wanted to pursue them, and dislodge them from their camp. The text of the chronicle does not give any such indication.

Rāmarāja lost his temper, and summoning his ministers, gave them orders.* Having seated himself on the back of an *amṛta*† elephant called Rājahamṣa, and accompanied by all his troops, Rāmarāja advanced upon the four Pāduśāhas,‡ while warriors of great renown seated in howdahs marched on his right and left, (drummers) sounded the war drums behind, and musicians played upon such musical instruments as trumpets, lutes, tomtoms, pipes &c. in front. Having caused cannon, *rāmasinghs*, *jamjas*, rockets, steel-bombs to be brought in large numbers, he had them fired at the same time. Countless numbers of people were killed or wounded on the side of the Pāduśāhas. The battle raged in this fashion for three days and nine hours, when large number of the soldiers of the three Pāduśāhas forming into groups took to their heels. Having formed into *jarās*§ they escaped with their lives by flight, and sought refuge in the jungles.

The Mussalman kings, having retreated (from the field), halted at (a distance of) two *haridāris*\$. Thereupon, the forces of Rājabhūvara being greatly delighted with their victory, retired in a highly elated condition¶ to their respective camps, jesting with one another. The whole army remained comfortably in the camp in an unwatchful condition thinking that they need no longer be afraid of any one, as none would attack them henceforth. The soldiers of each captain began to indulge in *kūti-pauli*||.

At the same time, the three Pāduśāhas, having together held consultations in secret,** sent to Allī Yadula Śāha, their envoys, kinsmen, elders and some ministers, (with this message) : " You did not take part in the battle ; and remaining

* The text does not specify the nature of these orders.

† It is believed that an elephant of this class cannot be subdued.

‡ Four Pāduśāhas is a mistake ; it ought to be three Pāduśāhas.

§ The meaning of the word *jarā* is not known.

¶ A *haridāri* is equal to a *kōṣa*.

|| The original has *acōḍyavādavu* ; the word *acōḍya* according to Kittel means 'not marvellous, not strange', but that meaning is inapplicable here.

|| The meaning of *kūti-pauli* is not known.

** 'Having concerted to renew suddenly the attack.'—I. O. M., p. 207.

behind without joining the battle you left our army either to win the victory or be destroyed in the attempt. Well, what has been ordained by God will come to pass. We have resolved sincerely to wage war and win victory."* On hearing these words, their elders said, in reply, "If the whole army speaks as you do, then you will win (victory) in course of time." They replied that they had faith in their army that they would fight fiercely.

At the same time, Allī Yadula Sāha, having performed his third *namāz* at the 11th *tāsi*,† offered a silent prayer to his God. "O ! God, fulfil the desire of my heart; let the business which I have thought of in my mind succeed. Maintain the honour of our Mussalman kings." Having prayed in this manner, he made his troops ready for battle and began to attack the army of Rājabhūvara. As Rājabhūvara's army was off its guard, it was completely destroyed; and (the camp of the soldiers and the non-combatants were thoroughly looted.

(Rājabhūvara was taken prisoner.)‡ Then, he addressed (the following words of reproach) to Allī Yadula Sāha :—

"It is not proper that you, who had been styling yourself my son, should behave in this manner.§ You are a virtuous

* The message to Ali Adil Shāh in *J. O. M.* (p. 207) runs thus :—

"You have hitherto given no assistance in this war and we conclude that you have all this time kept at a distance to amuse the enemy, while you look on and behold the destruction of our armies; be it so, may God grant you his blessing, but we shall yet attempt with courageous hearts to conquer the foe trusting in the assurances and the hearty support of all our officers."

† *Tāsi*, according to Kittel, means an hour.—*J. O. M.*, p. 207 has, '3 at noon.'

‡ This sentence is inserted in the speech of Rājabhūvara; and it is placed immediately after the first sentence.

§ "You have been hitherto considered and called *my son*; is it then honourable to deceive me at last? It is said you are a charitable and religious holy man. Does this become that reputation? Doth a truly great man deceive the father who had adopted and reared him? Is it thus you shall obtain reputation and fame in the world? As for me what remains to be done, now that my subjects and army have fallen by treachery? I had trusted in you as in my child who would never deceive me; but though you have rewarded my kindness with ingratitude yet as my son I ask of you this favour that you cut off my head instantly with my own sword and not permit my enemies to have the pleasure; so may you enjoy lasting prosperity and your race so descend in the world from son to son for ever."

"Those who abandon their father, their mother, their priest and their God, are they to be rewarded in the next birth with Power, with Honours and with empire? By faith and deeds not less in merit, of many states you now may form one empire—and now you have obtained the objects and advantage you wished—to say more were needless for me—the period of death so nearly approaches."—*J. O. M.*, pp. 207—8.

man. After cheating the father who begot you and him who adopted you, you are bound to prosper. Already you are a great devotee. You do not recoil from treachery against your father and teacher; nor have you any hesitation (to commit these crimes). You have acquired great renown. What is the use of my efforts hereafter? All my army is destroyed; it is lying dead on the battle-field; I trusted you considering you to be my son, and believed that you would not deceive me; but you have turned out to be a man without honour, and cheated me. Well, it has taken place somehow. As you are my son, do not let me fall into the hands of the enemy and be beheaded, but shoot my head off with our own cannon yourself. You and your posterity will be possessed of fortune henceforth. (Your family) had been exercising sovereignty for generations. (Your ancestors) have been hostile even to (their) parents, teachers and God. They were born as fortunate men! You have united the whole kingdom. What can be done hereafter? You have realised your desires. My efforts are vain. As the time of my death has approached no useful purpose is served by talking further."

(Rāmarāja) put on his head a valuable cap adorned with a ruby,* covered himself with a shawl embroidered with flower pattern, and offered prayer to God. Then, having called Yadula Śāha (to his presence), he said: 'In as much as you are my son, do not surrender me to the enemy; but cut my head off at one stroke with a sword yourself, and let there be no need for a second.'† Then having adjured (Yadula Śāha) on an oath, he began to think of his God once (again). All Yadula Śāha came and stood before (Rājabhūvara), and taking a cannon,‡ he shot away the head of Rājabhūvara. The three Pādusāhas were immensely delighted when they heard this news. Then the entire Karnātaka army was looted, and put

* 'Dressed himself in a black habit'.—I.O.M., p. 208.

† 'Or employing others to do it'.—I.O.M., p. 208.

‡ 'He took a sword in his own hand struck off the head of Rajaboovar'.—I.O.M., p. 209.

to flight; many horses were captured; and the ammunition and well-filled* war-chest plundered.

The news of Rājabhūvara's death reached his venerable mother who was residing in her palace (*candraśāla*) at Vijayanagara. When she heard the news, she became inconsolably distressed. It is impossible to describe her grief. For the fault of her son, she put an end to herself by eating *bellāhāra*.† His three wives offered their jewels, clothes, ornaments decked with gems, *jadabangārus*, *sisafailus*, and pearl-necklaces to the great God embodied in the Yajñapuruṣa (sacrificial fire); and they also swallowed *bellāhāra* similarly, and secured release (from the body).

After these events had taken place, the three Pāduśāha marched upon Vidyānagara, and having plundered all the wealth including dresses and jewels stored up in the treasury of the fort that stood in the plain outside the city, they returned to their respective places, taking with them chariots elephants, horses, and other kinds of vehicles. Then (Yaduk Śāha) sent away the three kings, viz., Akhabara Jalādīnt Pāduśāha, Imāmuluku Pāduśāha of Varadadēśa, and Nizām Śāha Bhairy Pāduśāha with presents. He also sent the bones of Rājabhūvara to Benares (so that they might be thrown in the waters of the Ganges). Next, he proceeded to Penugonda with the object of conquering the place; and having laid siege to it for a month, he captured it, after a stubborn fight. He posted his own garrison in the fort, and returned to Vijāpura. Rāja bhūvara died on Monday, Vaisākha, ba 8, Śravāṇa of the year Raktākṣi (S.S. 1486)‡.

The Rāmarājana Bakhair is finished in Tuesday Āśādha ba 4 of the year Krōdhāna
Mac. MSS. 19-1-41, pp. 1-31; L.R. 24, pp. 107-7

* The meaning of the word *jhādītājhadāv* used in the text in this context is not quite clear.

† *Bella* means jaggery, and *āhāra* is food. Therefore, *bellāhāra* must be taken to mean food prepared of jaggery. Since, the mother of Rājabhūvara died after consuming it, poison must have been one of its ingredients.

‡ This date is irregular. The details are applicable to 1487 Krōdhāna, Monday 2, April A.D., 1565.

187. THE BATTLE OF RĀKSASI-TĀNGADI.

Rāmarāja started from Vidyānagara and led an invasion against the Muhammadans, when a great battle took place in the month of Māgha of that Raktākṣi year* between his troops and those of the Muhammadans. Being unable to withstand the attack of the Rāya's army, the Muhammadan army fled in confusion. Then, Kutubu Śāha of Gōlkonḍa, and Nizām Śāha who was called Bhairy Pādusāha of Ahmadnagara, both these kings led an attack; but being unable to resist (the enemy) they fled. Finding that it was impossible to defeat the Rāya's army, they took counsel together, and arrived at the conclusion that it was not possible to win victory without having recourse to some trick. Then they opened negotiations with Alli Adula Pādusāha who was one of the principal servants of the Rāya. They excited his feelings by making an appeal to his racial love; and induced him to take an oath on his faith, God, and sword that he would keep their pact a secret. They also exacted a promise from him that he would convert his words into action.

The Kutubu Śāhu of Gōlkonḍa, and Bhairy Nizām Śāhu of Ahmadnagar, having thus brought Adula Śāhu to their side, put the Rāya completely off his guard by deliberately spreading a false rumour that they were desirous of concluding a peace. They inspired confidence in the mind of the Rāya, and made him forget his danger. They found an opportunity to put their plan into action by the tricks of Alli Adula Śāhu of Vijāpura, and having joined together, they made a treacherous attack upon Rāmarāja, and captured him at a place called Rakkasa-Dangadi in the *bahula* (*pakṣa*) of the month of Māgha of the year Raktākṣi of S. S. 1487. Having beheaded him, they sent his head to Kāsī, and became independent masters of their respective kingdoms. The kingdom of the Rāyas broke, and the city of Vidyānagara fell into ruin.

Nārāyaṇappa of the Small Treasury who was the *sēnabōva* of the treasury of the palace being unable to remain at

* Jan. 1565 A. D.

Vidyānagara, repaired to Cikka Śaṅkāṇa Nāyaka with all his family. Cikka Śaṅkāṇa gave him protection and appointed him to posts of great power and wealth.

Keṭadīnīpavijayam, pp. 66-7.

188. PULIGADDA PĀPANARASAYYA.

SUMMARY.

When the Narapati Mahārāyas were ruling the kingdom of Ānegondi, there lived at Allūr a boy of the name of Puligadḍa Pāpanarasayya who distinguished himself in arts and sciences very early in life. Being desirous of seeing the beauty of Vijayanagara, he started alone from his village. In the middle of his way, he met Rāmarāja who was marching with his armies against some enemies; and on his invitation, he accompanied the army to Vijayanagara. Rāmarāja who was greatly impressed with his intelligence and wisdom bestowed upon him many favours, and, having granted him the *sarkārs* of Sarvēpalli, Udayagiri and Nizāmpatnām for his salary, appointed him as *vakil* at the court of Delhi, where he transacted business on behalf of the Narapatis, until the outbreak of a war between Rāmarāja and the Mussalmans. Pāpanarasayya remained with the Rāya during the war. In the battle that ensued, Rāmarāja fell into the hands of the Mussalmans, and Malik Ibrāhim Pādushāh killed him, and annexed much territory over which he established his authority.

Malik Ibrāhim who became a friend of Pāpanarasayya during his sojourn at the court of Vijayanagara in his youth sent for him and asked him to choose some office under his government which he would readily bestow upon him. Pāpanarasayya who remembered the many favours which the Rāya bestowed upon him was greatly moved; he said that he had no desire to serve any master after the demise of the Rāya, by whose kindness he enjoyed all the gifts of fortune. The Pādushāh condoled with him, and conferred the three *sarkārs* which were formerly under his control as *jāgīrs* upon his three sons; but Pāpanarasayya died some time later in retirement.

189(a). MUHAMMADAN ATROCITIES AFTER THE BATTLE OF RĀKṢASI-TĀNGADI.

Then, in S. S. 1486 Raktākṣi Vaisākha, the Muhammadans came with their troops and put to death Rāmarāja the Great and his army near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Malāpahārī. Next, they entered this district, and razed to the ground all temples in this village. They wrapped the *liṅgas* in hay and set fire to them; they crushed (some) images and maimed others.

Kaifiyat of Nyāyakallu: L. R. 40, p. 317.

189(b).

At this juncture, when the Muhammadans killed Aliya Rāmarāja, king of Vijayanagara, in battle, they plundered the villages and towns in the neighbourhood. They also plundered this town, and as the merchants fled to foreign lands, this town also fell into ruin.

Kaifiyat of Rājula-Manḍagiri: L. R. 34, p. 90.

189(c).

Then the Pādusāha, having invaded the South with an army of 1,00,000 soldiers, demolished the temples situated even in all secure places, burnt the idols and defaced them. The people who heard of these happenings concealed the image of Janārdana, installed by king Janamējaya, in a well in the vicinity of the temple. During this invasion, all the images excepting this were broken; all the temples were burnt, and consequently most of them fell into ruin. Some disappeared so completely that not even their vestiges were left behind. In this manner (the Muhammadans) burnt houses and reduced entire villages to ashes. Many people perished in the flames, and several were carried away as captives. The survivors sought safety in voluntary exile. The village was totally destroyed, and jungle grew up on its site.

Kaifiyat of Guḍgam: L. R. 34, pp. 47-8.

190(a). CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE BATTLE OF RĀKṢASI-TĀNGADI.

When anarchy prevailed in the kingdom in the reign of this Sadāśivarāya, consequent on the rebellion of the five

Pādusāhas of Deccan against Aliya Rāmarāja, his annihilation together with the army in Ś. S. 1486 Raktākṣi, the capture of Vijayanagara, and the plunder of the country, the village of Allidona was destroyed. and a jungle grew up on its site, harbouring wild animals like tigers and bears in large numbers.

Kaiṣiyat of Allidona : L. R. 1, p. 141.

190(b).

Having killed Rāmarāja the Great, with all his army in the year Ś. S. 1486 Raktākṣi, the *Mleechas* came to this kingdom, and spread anarchy throughout the country. The people of this village emigrated to foreign lands. When they returned after some time, they found the village completely destroyed. Therefore, they abandoned the old village site, and built new habitations near it on the eastern side.

Kaiṣiyat of Gōranjla : L. R. 37, p. 172.

190(c).

The valuable jewels set with the nine classes of gems, and the vessels of silver and gold which were presented by former kings to Gods Nava-Nārasimha of Upper Ahōbaṭam, and Prahlāda-Nārasimha of Lower Ahōbaṭam and the Goddess Lakṣmīdēvī were stolen by the Muhammadans, at the time of the death of Rāmarāja the Great of Vijayanagara. A few vessels (of gold and silver) that remained were plundered in Ś. S. 1500 Bahudhānya when Ibharām and the Hanḍe chief attacked the shrine of Ahōbaṭam. Some jewels that escaped the hands of the plunderers together with the golden vehicles on which the Gods used to be taken in procession were broken and carried away by the Muhammadans in Ś. S. 1541 Siddhārthi,* when the territory of Gōpālarāju of Kandanavōlu fell into their hands.

Kaiṣiyat of Ahōbaṭam : L. R. 10. p. 577.

190(d).

In this Raktākṣi year (Ś. 1486) while the country lay desolate owing to the death of Aliya Rāmarāya at the hand of

the Mussalmans, this Sugumāncipalle ceased to be a possession of the God Iṣṭakāmēśvara of Siddhavata and was confiscated by the state.

Kaifiyat of Sugumancipalle : L.R. 35, p. 170.

190(e).

The Muhammadans fought with Aliya Rāmarāja in S.S. 1486 Raktākṣi. In the disturbances which followed their seizure of the kingdom after they put him to death, the country was devastated.

Kaifiyat of Kāmalāpuram : L.R. 1, p. 49.

190(f).

The rule of this (Ārevīti) Konḍrāju lasted until S.S. 1486 Raktākṣi, when Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara was killed by the Mussalmans. Anarchy prevailed in the country afterwards up to S.S. 1492 Pramōdūta ; and the people were considerably harassed by thieves and the uncertainty caused by unsettled government. In S.S. 1493 Prajōtpatti, Hānde Vīra Basappa Nāyadū was wounded in a battle at Kalayāṇadurga. Sadāśiva Dēva Mahārāja granted to him in appreciation of his services the *sīmas* of Cāngalamarri, Duvvūru, Porumāmilla, Baddivōlu, and Sirivolla.

Kaifiyat of Cāngalamarri : L.R. 11, p. 299.

190(g).

When Aliya Rāmarāja was killed, the country was devastated by the *Mlēchhas* ; therefore this village fell into ruin. After it was repopulated once again to some extent during the days of the king Śrī Rangarāya of Penugonḍa, this village was in the possession of the said God of Siddhavatam.

Kaifiyat of Indukēru : L.R. 10, pp. 162-3.

190(h).

The worship of the God was not properly conducted during the reign of Śrīraṅgarāja of Penugonḍa. When the country was devastated after Aliya Rāmarāja's death by the

Muhammadans, the villages of this country fell into ruin. Sivapura, a *pēta* attached to this village, and Peddanapādu were deserted.

Kaifiyat of Kommadī : L.R. 10, p. 144.

190(i).

After this, anarchy prevailed in the country. As the people were not able to endure the tyranny of the *pālaigārs*, they abandoned the village and it fell into ruin.

In Š.S. 1492 Pramōda, on behalf of Ali Adul Pādushāh of Bijāpūr, Hande Bāla Hanumappa Nāyādu came to this district, and took possession of the whole *pargāna* including Bellary. Having built strong forts in towns and posted garrisons for their defence, he carried on the administration of the province. He granted *kauls* through *Mokadēśāyi* and *Nādugaudu* to village *Gaudu* and *Kulkarṇi* who induced the people to return to the villages and settle down.

Kaifiyat of Sindavādi : L.R. 40, p. 302.

190(j).

Haliya Rāmappaya who was the Yuvarāja under Sadāśivārāya Mahārāya was put to death with all his army by the Pādushāhs of Deccan near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malāpahārī in Š.S. 1486 Raktākṣi. Then the kingdom came under the control of Sadāśivarāya, and Nandela Timmarāja was governing this *sīma* on his behalf.

Kaifiyat of Jambulamadugu : L.R. 1, p. 225.

190(k).

SUMMARY.

In Š. S. 1486 Raktākṣi, Rāmarāja the Great, the Yuvarāja, was killed by the Pādushāhs of Deccan. In Š.S. 1490 Vibhava the country had to pass through the harrowing experience of famine, while it was still in a state of confusion. As the inhabitants of the two *agrahāras*, Rāmacandrāpuram and Saluva-Govindarājapuram, could not endure the hardships, they emigrated to foreign countries: and there

uarrels between the villagers of Peda-Pasupula and parlapāḍu or the possession of the lands of these deserted *agrahāras*.

Kaifiyat of Peda-Pasupula: L.R. 9, p. 177.

190(7).

After Rāmarāja, together with his army, was annihilated at the junction of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malāpahārī, the whole country was conquered by the *Mleechas*. The country became ruined. Owing to the absence of proper government, the depredations of the *pālaigārs* became great causing much misery to the people. The village remained in a ruinous state till S.S. 1490. When *sardār* Shēr Khān became the *subēdār* of Ādavāni under the Bijāpūr Pādushāh, he granted lease deeds to the *Gauḍ* and *Sānubhōga* of Tumbala and through them caused people to repopulate the village and cultivate the land again, after fixing the grain rent to be paid by them.

Kaifiyat of Tumbālam: L.R. 8, pp. 8-9.

190(m). THE SIEGE OF ĀDŌNI BY DAULAT KHĀN.

At the time of Rāmarāya's death, Konēti Konḍamarāju the son of Rāmarāja's elder brother, Kōnamrāju, was in the fort of Ādavāni with an army. Then Sakkara Daulat Khān, a *vazir* of Bahadūr Shāh of Bijāpūr, marched with his army, and besieged the fort of Ādavāni for two years and three months. Then in S.S. 1489* Fasali 976, the fort was surrendered, and Konḍamarāja was given Penugonḍa which he occupied.

Kaifiyat of Ādavāni: L.R. 10, p. 37.

191. SADĀŚIVA'S RULE AFTER RĀKṢASI-TAṄGIDI.

After the Pādushāhs of Deccan slew Aliya Rāmarāja, Sadāśivarāya ruled the country for six years.

Kaifiyat of Kāmalāpuram: L.R. 1, p. 15.

192.

SUMMARY.

The Muhammadans annexed some territory in the west; they set up the throne of the Rāya, and having given some

* A. H. 976 is, no doubt the correct date of the siege of Ādavāni; but the corresponding Śaka year is not 1489 but 1490.

territory to Sadāśivarāya, returned (to their respective kingdoms). As Rāmarājaya who had been managing the affairs of the Rāya died, his brother Tirumalarājaya succeeded him.

Tirumalarāja, the son of Ellamarāja and Tirumalāmbā of the Matli family was serving the king at the court. Three villages were granted to him for his maintenance in the Udayagiri-rājya.

Kaifiyat of Cittivili : L.R. 22, pp. 184-5

193(a). SADĀŚIVA AND TIRUMALA.

The five Mussalman Pādushāhs of Deccan, having united together put to death Kṛṣṇarāya's son-in-law, Rāmarāja, with his army in a battle on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā and occupied the kingdom. With their consent, Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya ruled over the kingdom for some time. Tirumalarāja became the Yuvarāja under him.

Kaifiyat of Siddhavaṭam : L.R. 9, p. 279.

193(b).

After the death of Rāmarāja the Great, who had been Yuvarāja during Sadāśivarāya's reign, at the hands of the Muhammadans in S.S. (1486) Raktākṣi, the kingdom came once again under the control of Sadāśivarāya. While the 'son-in-law' Tirumalarāja, a younger brother of Rāmarāja the Great, was carrying on the administration, he confiscated the village of Neravāḍa.

Kaifiyat of Neravāḍa : L.R. 55, p. 37.

194. LAST PHASE OF SADĀŚIVA'S REIGN.

The reign of Acyutadēva Mahārāya lasted until S.S. 1464 Śubhakṛt. Then Vira Śrī Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya being seated on the Jewelled-throne at Vijayanagara, ruled the kingdom of the world from S.S. 1465 Śobhakṛt with Aliya Rāmarāja as his *kāryakarta*. The Muhammadans who invaded (the country) put Aliya Rāmarāja with his army to death at Rākṣasi-Taṅgadī in the *pargana* of Honugonḍa, near the

confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Malāpahārī in S.S. 1486 Raktākṣi. The country fell into the hands of the Muhammadans after this event; but Sadāśivarāya's authority was restored in the *pargana* of Nandēla which he ruled until S.S. 1497. Nandēla Timmayadēva Mahārāja, the son of Narasingayyadēva Mahārāja and grandson of Nārayya-dēva Mahārāja, was governing the district as Sadāśivarāya's *kāryakarta*, as shown by an inscription dated S.S. 1490 Akṣaya on the east of Aṅkālamma's shrine at the village of Karimaddula included in the *pargana* of Baṇḍi-Ātmakūr situated at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Nandēla.

Kaifiyat of Nandyāla: L.R. 56, pp. 103-6.

195. POLICE ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE REIGN OF SADĀŚIVA.

Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya, having ascended the Jewelled-throne of the great city of Vidyānagara, was ruling the empire of the world. While Gutti Tirumalarāya was holding the office of *kāryakarta*, bandits robbed and otherwise harassed travellers at the place where the road connecting Cuddapah with Gurrankonda *sīma* passed through the Sūryakomālla Pass in the Pālakonda hills. Unable to endure the tyranny of the robbers, the people brought the matter to the notice of Tirumalarāya, and requested him to appoint some person to protect the travellers and the inhabitants of the villages of the Uṭukūru *sīma* in the neighbourhood of the Sūryakomālla Pass from the robbers who had taken shelter in the said place. Tirumalarājayya complied with their request, and appointed one of his dependents, Lakki Nāyadū, the son of Nāre Kadireppa Nāyadū of the Yākarla community as the guard of the Sūryakomālla Pass. Tirumalarājayya and the *reddis*, *karapams*, and the *agrahārikas* of the fourteen villages of the Uṭukūru *sīma* had jointly fixed his share of land, *mēras*, and *vartanas* due to the said Lakki Nāyadū, the son of Mahānāyakācārya Nāre Kadireppa Nāyadū, in all the said fourteen villages, and granted to him a charter engraved on two copper-plates embodying the terms of the grant.

Summary of the contents of the charter :—In S.S. 1479 (Kāla yukti Vaisākh śu 15) while Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, Gutti Timmarāja and the *agrahārikas*, the *reddis* and the *karayams* of the fourteen villages of the Ūṭukūru *sīma* granted to Lakki Nāyadū, son of Śrīman Mahānāyakācārya Nāre Kadireppa Nāyadū, a copper plate charter of *mānyas*, *mēras* and *vartanas* for policing the mountain pass.

I. For policing the pass :

In the lands of Nāgireddipalle a field of *khs.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ extent.

In the lands of Kommalapalle a rice field irrigated by the Gurramgumpu tank. *kh* $\frac{1}{2}$ extent.

II. For protecting the villages, the fields, rice-fields, and *vartanas*, are fixed thus :

	Village.	Field.	Rice-field.	Garden.
1.	Ūṭukūr	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{4}$	...
2.	Cintakommudinne	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{2}{5}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>ma</i> $\frac{1}{4}$
3.	Rāmasāgaram and Timmasamudram	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{5}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{5}$	...
4.	Koppatti (<i>agrahāra</i>)	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{10}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{3}{20}$	...
5.	Apparājupalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{10}$	...	<i>ma</i> 2
6.	Pabbāpuram (<i>agrahāra</i>)	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{3}{10}$	...	...
7.	Akkayapalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{10}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{20}$	...
8.	Buggalapalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{10}$	...	...
9.	Prasannarāyanipalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{3}{10}$	...	...
10.	Gollalapalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{10}$	...	...
11.	Kolmulapalle	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{5}$	<i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{5}$	...
12.	Gōvulacervu	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{1}{20}$	...	...
13.	Tātigotla	... <i>kh</i> $\frac{3}{20}$	...	...

kh $\frac{1}{10}$ paddy for every rice-field; *kh* $\frac{1}{20}$ for every plough of land; 1 *rūka* for every loom, and 1 *rūka* for every marriage.

The charter bears the signatures of Tirumalarājayya, and several others, and it was engraved by the goldsmith Venkata-giri of Utukuru with the consent of the *agrahārikas* and *karayams* of the said villages.

Kaifiyat of Kūmpalle : L. R. 35, pp. 475-79.

196. CUSTOMS DUTIES DURING SADĀŚIVA'S REIGN.

May it prosper! Hail. In the year 1474 of the ever victorious Śalivāhana Śaka corresponding to Parīdhāvi Māgha ba 5 Friday (Feb. 3. 1553 A.D.), Śrinātha Rāmayadēva Mahārāja, the son of Lakṣmīpatirāja, and the grandson of Śrinātha-rāju Sāmanta Śingāra Mahāpātra, (with several titles) granted (this) charter to the pilgrims visiting Tirupati Śrīsaila.

At the ford of Kētavaram (on the Kṛṣṇā) which Śrīman Mahārāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya, being seated on the Jewelled-throne of Vidyānagara, granted to us for [nāyaṅkaram], we have made *sarvamānya* the *sunka thānas*, and the duties collected therein on the pilgrims of eighteen castes passing to and fro, on the horses on which they ride, the different articles brought by merchants accompanying them, and on the bullocks and asses which carry these articles.

An inscription at Kētavaram : L. R. 12, pp. 257-58.

197. TIRUMALA.

SUMMARY.

Martuzā captured the fort of Konḍavīdu, blasted all the shrines in the town, and broke their images. He changed the name of Gōpināthapura into Martuzānagara and having made it his capital, he began to rule the country in the neighbourhood; but Tirumaladēva Mahārāya marched upon him with an army, and having expelled the Muhammadan forces from the south of the Kṛṣṇā he captured several forts. During the reign of Tirumaladēva Mahārāya his son Śrīraṅgarāja, who was governing this province, made a grant of land to the shrine of Gangādhara Rāmēśvara on S. S. 1494 Āngirasa Vaiśākha 12. Tirumaladēva Mahārāja ruled until S. S. 1494.

Kaifiyat of Konḍavīdu : Mas. Mrs. 15-4-40, pp. 23-4.

198. KR̄SNAPPA NĀYAKA AND SR̄IRANGAM.

In Śaka year 1452, in the reign of Kr̄ṣṇappa Nāyaka, many jewels were presented to the deity, a flight of steps and *maṇḍapa* were built in his name in the Kāvērī, and Kumār Narasimha Vādhūla Dēśika was requested to worship and adorn the deity in every way.

Kōyilolugū, p. 150

199. TIRUMALA AND VEṄKĀTĀ.

Then, Tirumalarāya, and Veṅkaṭarāya * younger brothers of Rāmappaya ruled over the territory which was under the Rāyas several years before. Having defeated all the hostile Muhammadan armies, which invaded their kingdom from the north, and destroyed the enemies in every place, they ruled the country with Ānegondi and Candragiri as their respective capitals.

Account of the Narapati Kings : L.R. 50, p. 316.

200(a). SR̄IRĀNGA I.

After the death of Tirumaladēva Mahārāya, his second son, Śrīraṅgarāya, was crowned king at Penugonḍa, where he began to rule. Rāghavarāja, (Rāmarāja ?) one of his brothers, was governing Śrīraṅgapatṭanam ; and another brother, Veṅkatapatirāya was ruling at Candragiri.

Pottapinādu in the Siddhavatam *sīma* which was included in the Udayagiri *rājya* was directly under the government of Śrīraṅga, whereas Pulugulanādu formed part of Candragiri-*rājya* of which Veṅkatapatirāya was the governor. At the time of the death of Śrīraṅgarāya in S. S. 1510, Sarvadhāri (A.D. 1588-89), *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju was administering Siddhavatam *sīma* with Pottapinādu on his behalf.

Kaifiyat of Cittivēli : L. R. 22, p. 189.

200(b).

SUMMARY.

In Śaka 1490 Vibhava the coronation of Śrīraṅganāyakulu was celebrated in Penugonḍa,† and he granted the *māgāṇi* of

* Veṅkatarāya referred to in this extract is not Rāmarāja's younger brother, but a nephew; i. e., the son of his younger brother Tirumala.

† This date is too early for the coronation of Śrīraṅga ; the coronation of Śrīraṅga's father Tirumala took place only in S. S. 1492.

Pasupula included in the *Gāṇḍikōṭa sīma* of the Udayagiri-*rājya* to Hāṇḍe Kadambarāya as an *ummāli*. Kadambarāya granted in his turn to his *kāryakarta*, Kali Timmā Nāyadū, Cina-Pasupula, a village at a distance of two miles from Peda-Pasupula. Although Peda-Pasupula was under the Rāya, the Hāṇḍe chief usurped its administration, as he was very powerful and had a garrison at Cina-Pasupula.

In Š. S. 1500 Bahudhānya, while Śrīraṅgarāja was governing the kingdom, Maliki Vibharām invaded the country with the assistance of the Hāṇḍe chief. The invaders caused great commotion throughout the country, plundered and ransacked (the villages) and attacked Ahōbaṭam where they ruined the temples. The Jīyaṅgār of Ahōbaṭam, having repaired to Penu-gōnda, remonstrated with Śrīraṅga. "Although Your Majesty is on the throne, mean wretches like the Turakas having entered the country, ruined the temple of Ahōbaṭa, Your Majesty's tutelary god. It is not proper that Your Majesty should be an indifferent witness." Thereupon at the instance of the Rāya, Rāmarāju and Veṅkaṭarāju marched with an army and expelled Maliki Ibharām and the Hāṇḍe chief from the country. Then the village of Pasupula had come under the control of the crown once again.

As the tyranny of the *pālāigārs* increased considerably, Nandēla Nārasimharāja built, by the command of Śrīraṅgarāya, a fort in the village of Peda-Pasupula where he posted a garrison.

Kaiśyat of Peda-Pasupula : L. R. 9, pp. 177-83.

200 (c).

Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Raṅga-dēva Mahārāya ascended the throne and on Kārtika śu 10 of Iśvara corresponding to Š. S. 1499, he granted to Jātakarma Virūpākṣa, son of Mārtāṇḍa, the village of Gorizavōlu as a *sarvamānya agraḥāra*. Then Hazarat Vibhurām Pādusāh, having become powerful collected an army on the other side of the Kṛṣṇā, with the object of conquering Śrīraṅgarāya, the Pādusāha of Karnāṭaka, and annexing such forts as Vinukonda and

Bellamkonḍa which were on the south of that river. Placing 10,000 horse, 50,000 foot, 100 elephants, cannon and *bāgas* under the command of Rāya Rao, a Brahman in his service, he ordered him to lead the expedition. Accordingly Rāya Rao with all accoutrements of war proceeded by forced marches, and crossing the Kṛṣṇā, he captured Vinukonḍa and Bellamkonḍa after severe fighting. Next he proceeded to Nāgārjunakonḍa and annexed the Mācerla *sīma*. His success against these three hill forts encouraged him to invest the land fort of Koccerlakōṭa which he took, after expelling the Velamas who were in possession of it. Then he seized the land forts of Addanki, Ammanabrolu, Kandukūru, Podili, Darśi, Kambham, Kākarla, Dūpādu, Tangēda, Gurizāla, Kētavaram, and Kōdepūdi one after another ; finally, he laid siege to Kondavīdu and pressed the garrison hard. Velugōṭi Timmana, the commandant of the Rāya, having received as bribe ' brass bags ' of *varāhas*, surrendered the fort, and handed over the keys to Rāya Rao, the commander of the Pādusāh's forces on Ś.S. 1502, Vikrama, Vaisākha śu 15 (April 29, A.D. 1580.)

Kaifiyat of Konḍavidi: Mac. MSS. 15-4-40, pp. 24-25.

200 (d).

The Muhammadans made Śrīraṅga the ruler of this country, and handed over to him the fort of Penugonḍa, on condition that he would pay them some money. Śrīraṅgarāja being seated on the Jewelled-throne at Penugonḍa ruled over Murikinādu, Siddhavatām, and Rēnādu included in the district of Gāndikōṭa. He allowed Brahmans and temples to enjoy the lands granted to them as before.

Kaifiyat of Cuddapah: L.R. 8, p. 130.

201. VELUGÖTI KASTÜRİ RANGAPPA NÄYADU.

SUMMARY.

When Velugōṭi Raṅgappa was ruling the district of Eruva, Dāsarāju Kondrāju, and his brothers, Anna Venkata-rāju and Timmarāju, rose to prominence, and having defeated in battle the Hande and Sāri chiefs seized the estate of the

atter. Sāri Ōbana, who was the head of the Sāri family at that time, appealed to Velugōti Rangappa for help and requested him to restore to him his estate. Rangappa readily promised help, and marched without delay with 2,000 soldiers to Kōdūr, where he halted.

Kondrāju and his brothers who got information of the arrival of the invader through their spies sent immediately letters to the chiefs of Kātnēni, Vankara, Kūnapuli, Pedapōtu, Alanesa, Vēmula, Kāluvapalli, Mācupalli, Pottara, Pottare-Gurigiñjan̄a, Dāndakōna, Calla and Savaram families who were favourably disposed to them, requesting them to go to their assistance. In response to this request, they came with 5,000 troops and halted at Yarragun̄ta, where they met Matla Timmarāja. The Dāsarirāju brothers told their allies that Velugōti Rangappa invaded their estate, having pledged his word to Sāri Ōbana to restore to him his lands. He passed through the territory of the Matla chiefs and was encamped at that time near Kōdūr with an army of 2,000 soldiers. They suggested that they could easily effect his capture. Matla Timma agreed to the proposal, and summoned to his assistance chiefs, noblemen, commandants of forts, and relations from Kalimili, Udayādri, Kadiri, Pottapinādu, Siddhavatam, and Sakili. Soon an army consisting of 97 elephants, 1,000 horses, 300 chiefs, 100 kings, some hundreds of matchlockmen, and 500 archers gathered together, and it was further strengthened by 7,000 *kaijītam* forces of Matla Timmarāja.

The army left Yerragun̄ta and moved towards Siddhavatam which they soon reached. Thence they marched to Nēlatūr where they waited for some of their allies who were still on the way. Then, with the object of gaining time, the Dāsarirāju brothers sent Gutti Venkatarāju to the camp of the enemy to negotiate terms of peace; but as neither party was desirous of settling the matter amicably, fighting became inevitable.

The next morning both the armies stood against each other in full battle array. The army of the Dāsarirāju

brothers fell into four divisions :—(1) the minor chiefs, (2) the troops of Matla Timmarāja, (3) the retainers of the Dāsarirāja family and (4) other forces. All these four divisions consisting of 12,000 infantry attacked the forces of Rangappa on all sides. Velugōti Rangappa rode forward lance in hand to attack the enemy. He told his ally Dāmera Venkaṭapati that he would lead the charge personally against the Matla chief as he had a large army, and asked him to keep the other chiefs engaged. Then commenced a sanguinary battle in which the following chiefs were killed :—

1. Matla Cina Ellappa.
2. Lingarāju Timmana.
3. Villūru Virayya.
4. Nakkenapalli Rāghava.
5. Yeragudi Kōnēru.
6. The nephew of (5).
7. Yeragudi Timmarāju.
8. Ranganātharāju.
9. Balrāju Rāmana.
10. Pālepu Kōnēru.
11. Maccāla Vengayya.
12. Koṇdrāju Sōmana.
13. Sūrrāju Koṇdrāju.
14. Tulasirāju Timmana.
15. Bhairrāju Kōnēru.
16. Timmarāju Tippana.
17. Gottikanṭi Ōbaya.
18. Sangarāju Mūrti.
19. Pasupula Ōbana.
20. Mullagūru Ellayya.
21. Sirigiri Kōnēru.
22. Cintagunṭa Kōnēru.
23. Cintagunṭa Subbarāju.
24. Nakamallu Timmana.
25. Nakamallu Ōba.
26. Gutti Venkatarāju.
27. Makrāju Koṇdrāju.

28. Bhūmarāju Timmarāju.
29. Virayya, the son-in-law of (28).
30. Kattulūri Lakṣumarāju.
31. Salakarāju Pedarāju.
32. Maṭla Varadarāju Timmaya.
33. Maṭla Tirumalarāju and fifty others.

When so many of their allies were killed, the army of Dāsarirāju brothers wavered and fled. Among the chiefs that turned their back upon the enemy were:—

1. Gōna Telagalnēdu.
2. Kāluvapalli Venkatayya.
3. Kūnapuli Ganginēdu.
4. Kātnēni Kadirinēdu.
5. Gurigīñagunṭa Buccana.
6. Calla Tāti Nēdu.
7. Savaram Tātanna.
8. Vankara Basivinēdu.
9. Nēsa Timmana.
10. Mācupal Timminēdu.
11. Pottara Timminēdu.
12. Vēmula Ganginēdu.

But, one chief, Appakondrāju, did not relish the idea of flying before the enemy. He turned round, and valiantly opposed the pursuers but was killed. The lives of Anantarāju and Venkatārāju who were taken prisoners were spared. When Rangappa was satiated with the slaughter of the enemy, he commanded at last the trumpet of *dharma* (*dharmadhāra*) to be blown; and immediately the slaughter ceased.

This battle was fought on Āśvija, śu 8, Sunday, of the year Pramādi corresponding to S. S. 1501. (Sunday, Sept. 27, 1579 A.D.)

Mat. MSS. 15-4-3, pp. 129-37.

202(a). KASTŪRI RANGA.

SUMMARY.

Velugōti Ranga drove the chiefs of Vinukonda and Kondavdu up to Koccerlakōta; killed the *muṇne* chiefs who

were the subordinates of the Rāya at Krotta-Kanuma ; exacted tribute within a *ghadiya* from Timmapa Gauda who rebelled against the Rāya ; and slew Maṭla Timma with 12,000 troops, and won a victory over Dāsarirāju Timma, having put to flight Gōnas, Vankaras and Kūnapulis. He destroyed the Kṣatriyas in the battle-field of Kōdūr.

Velugōṭivāri Vaṇiśāvāli, 392-3.

202(b).

This Kastūri Rangappa Nāyadū defeated the Muhammādans of Gōlkonda in battle ; and chased the petty chiefs of Vinukonda and Kondavīdu to Koccerlakōṭa. Having been commissioned by the Rāya to subdue Timmaṇa Gaud who rose in rebellion against him, he killed 26,000 *manne* soldiers of the Gaud's army in the battle of Krotta-Kanuma. He captured Timmaṇa Gaud, and exacted from him the tribute due to the Rāya.

Then, Timmarāja, the chief of Maṭla *sīma*, with the help of his brothers, Kondrāju, Venkaṭarāju and Dāsarirāju attacked the chiefs in the neighbourhood and seized their estates.* Sāri Ōbalarāju, one of the chiefs, who was thus dispossessed, appealed to Kastūri Rangappa Nāyadū for help and requested him to effect the restoration of his lands. Rangappa pledged his word to get back his property, and to secure this end he marched to Kōdūr with an army of 2,000 soldiers. Dāmera Venkaṭappa Nāyadū, accompanied him with some troops.

When Timmarāja heard of this information, he summoned to his assistance the chiefs of the Kāṭnēni, Vankara, Kūnapuli, and Pedapādu families who were favourably disposed to him as well as the commandants of the forts of Kalimili and Udayagiri to Yerragunta. He explained to his allies the state of affairs ; then he despatched Guttī Venkaṭarāju to the camp

* The author of *Velugōṭivāri Vaṇiśācāritra* appears to have misunderstood the meaning of the original. Kondrāju, and Venkaṭarāju were not the brothers of Maṭla Timmarāja, but friends. It was not Maṭla Timma who seized the estates of the Sāri family ; Dāsarirāju Kondrāju and his brothers were the aggressors, and Maṭla Timmarāja came in as an ally when they were attacked by Kastūri Rangappa who espoused the cause of the Sāri chief.

of Kastūri Rangappa with the following message :—“ We did not injure you in any manner. It is not proper that you should wage war upon us without provocation.” Kastūri Rangappa replied, “ I gave a promise to Sāri Ōbaļarāja that I would get him back his estate ; and I won’t return from this war, unless you relinquish your hold upon it.”* On the receipt of this reply, Timmarāja made himself ready for battle with an army of 90 elephants, 1,000 horses, and 12,000 infantry.

Kastūri Rangappa marched for battle with 20,000† soldiers accompanied by Dāmera Venkaṭappa Nāyaḍu and other chiefs. A fierce engagement took place in which Timmarāja’s troops were scattered, and fifty-three chiefs including Lingarāju, Timmannā, Malluvāru Virayya, Sankenapalli Rāghavayya, Timmarāju, Venkaṭarāju, Kondrāju, and Dāsarirāju were killed.‡ The remaining chiefs who were panic-stricken sought the protection of Kastūri Rangappa. He spared their lives, and gave back to Sāri Ōbaļa his territory.

This battle was fought on Š. S. 1501 (A.D. 1579), Pramādi, Āsvija šu 8, Sunday.

Velugōṭivārī Vāṁśacaritra, pp. 93-5.

203. SRIRANGARĀYA I.

TAXES ON MARKETS.

SUMMARY.

On Š. S. 1496 Bhāva, Māgha šu 2, Friday, (14th Jan. 1575 A.D.) Paracūru Pāpā Nāyaḍu, a grandson of Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyaḍu, and a subordinate of Śrī Vira Rangarāyadēva Mahārāya, built a *pēṭa* at Krāsūr in the Bellamkonḍa *sīma*, started a market, and granted a stone charter to the people of all *Pāṭakamūlas* (?):—

We have remitted the 34 (?) *vēdanās* such as *pannu*, *paravi* (*parāyam*), *gaddem* (*khaddāyam* ?), *kānike*, *veṭṭi*, *vēmi*, *kōṭana*, etc., for twelve years. After that, we shall

* Gutti Venkaṭarāju was despatched as an ambassador not from Yerragunṭa but Nēlaṭṭur.

† The poem which describes the battle has only 2,000.

‡ The account given here is very faulty, as it contradicts the evidence of the contemporary account No. 201.

collect 3 *rūkas* for a big house, 2 *rūkas* for a small one, and 1 *rūka* for a shop per year. We have remitted for ever *vetti*, *hotti* (*hotti*), *gaḍḍa* (*khadḍayam*), *kānike*, and all other dues. *Akātrā*, *mēgu*, *zamili-gutta* and *peccu-gutta* we have remitted in favour of the *talāri*. We have also remitted the fines on adultery.

Inscription at Krāsūr, Bellamkonda Pargana : L. R. 12, pp. 268-69.

204(a). VENKATA II.

SUMMARY.

Vira Venkaṭapatiṛāya, who succeeded Śrīranga, being desirous of renovating the *agrahāra* established by his ancestor, Rāmacandrārāya, granted the lands of the defunct *agrahāra* of Rāmacandrāpuram to Vellāla Venkaṭasōmayājulu on S. S. 1511 Virōdhi, Bhādrapada śu 12 (Aug.—Sept. 1589 A.D.); but after the death of Venkaṭapatiṛāya, the Hande chief occupied the fort and posted a garrison.

Kaifiyat of Peda-Pasupula : L. R. 9, pp. 177 f.

204(b).

SUMMARY.

Many of the Kṣatriyas who were cultivating the fields defied the Brahman land-owners, and troubled them otherwise. The Brahmins were too weak to protect themselves; and as the kingdom of the Rāyas disappeared, there was none to listen to their complaints. Therefore, they were obliged to migrate to other places, abandoning their native village. The Kṣatriya farmers, having taken shelter under the Hande chief, joined the neighbouring *pālaigārs*, busied themselves in plundering the villages. The village of Peda-Pasupula remained in the possession of the Hande chiefs until S. S. 1574 Nandana, when the country passed into the hands of the Muhammadans. The Mussalman officers dispersed the garrison of the Hande chief, and confiscated the village.

Ibid, pp. 183-187.

205. VENKATA II AND THE SIEGE OF PENUGONDA.

SUMMARY.

Timma was born of the Viśnūvardhana-gotra in the fourth century. His son was Singa who begot Timma, Mādaya,

Cennamānkuṣa and Lakṣma (3). Of these Timma, with the help of his brother Cennamānkuṣa vanquished the Barid and the king of Purāṇapura (Burhānpūr) and obtained the title of Jagadēva (4). That Jagadēva of good character, ruled the country with great prowess (5). To him were born Peda Jagadēva, Immaḍi Jagadēva, Pinna Jagadēva and Ankusēndra (6). Immaḍi Jagadēvarāya, the most warlike of the brothers, killed Mṛtyujākhān (Martuzā Khān), Cittākhān and the cruel Nūrikākhān, destroying their entire following (7). Further, he caused the anointment to rulership of Aliya Rāma, Tirumala, Śīranga and Vira Venkaṭarāya.

Ponnatōṭa Aubhāja Kavi: *Vāmanapurāṇa* (Govt. Orient. Mus. Lib., R. No. 607-A), Canto I, pp. 16-23.

206(a). VENKATA II AND HIS NOBLES.

SUMMARY.

When king Venkaṭapatiḍēva Mahārāyalu being seated on the Jewelled-throne was ruling from Penugonḍa, and when Kṛṣṇamarāju of the Nandyāla family was ruling at Ghandikōṭa, the Matla chief, Ellamarāju of the Cōḍa family of the Solar race, who was a partisan of the aforesaid Venkaṭapati Rāyalu, fought with Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāju at Jambulamadaka, took him prisoner but offered him protection.

When Kondrāju Tirupatiraju was ruling at Siddhavatām, Matla Ellamarāju fought against him at the battle of Ütukūru, in the Cittivēli tālukā, defeated him and annexed Siddhavatām.

* * * * *

When the country fell into a state of ruin after the Mussalmans destroyed Vijayanagara City, king Venkaṭapatiṛāya granted *kauls* to ryots and set up inscriptions to that effect in the several villages of Kāmalāpuram tālukā. These inscriptions range in date from S. S. 1523 to 1531.

SUMMARY.

Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju rebelled against Venkaṭapatiḍēva Mahārāya who ascended the Jewelled-throne at Candragiri as well as Penugonda. Matla Ellamarāja espoused the cause of the Rāya, and defeated the ruler of Nandyāla in a battle at Jambulamaḍaka. He offered protection to Nandyāla Krṣṇamārāja. Next, he proceeded against Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju, and having inflicted a defeat upon him in the battle of Īṭukūr, took possession of Siddhavaṭam. Then he erected the wall enclosing the temple of Siddhēśvara, on which he caused an inscription to be engraved in Ś. S. 1527 Viśvāvasu.*

Kaijyayat of Lebāka : L. R. 44, pp. 243-44.

207(a). VELUGÖTI CENNAYA-VENKAṬAPATI.

SUMMARY.

Cennaya Venkaṭapati is indeed unrivalled among the *manne* chiefs in the kingdom of Karnāṭaka. (1) He won a victory over a certain Timmarāja, after both he and his enemy left Penugonda. (2)

* * * *

Velugötivārī Vaiśāvāṇi, 349-50.

207(b).

He conquered many chiefs; and having subdued the Gobbūru chiefs at Kalimili, he took possession of their estate. He introduced many changes into the village, and named it Venkaṭagiri after his name.

Velugötivārī Vaiśācariṭra, p. 90.

208. SĀLUVA MĀKARĀJA AND HIS SONS.

SUMMARY.

Mākarāja :—Mākarāja came out of the fort of Baicagundla, when the *manne* chiefs of the Seventy-Seven *Pālems* laid siege to it, and having defeated them in battle acquired the name of Kōṭa Mākarāja.

His sons :—He had three sons, Timma, Bomma, and Lakṣṇipati.

Timma or Tirumala :—Timma who was the most distinguished of his sons rose to prominence.

While Tirumalarājēndra, was holding court being seated on the throne, the whole court-hall was illuminated by his jewels, which were presented to him by the Lord of Karnāṭa.

Lakṣmīpati :—He caused several times *lakṣa-pūja* to be performed to Śiva and Viṣṇu; and had the poem, *Tapatī-Saṁvarana Carita* dedicated to himself.

Poet, Mallana :—‘Your grandfather and great-grandfather, Errana and Mallana having obtained gold and other ornaments from Sāluva Narasimha and the Gajapatis shone brightly’.

Vipranārāyaṇaearita, 1: 15, 16, 19, 37, 38, 39, 46.

209. CENNAPPA NĀYADU, THE GRANDSON OF GANI TIMMĀ NĀYADU.

SUMMARY.

Velugōti Cennappa Nāyadu having persistently attacked Gaṇḍikōṭa and other forts captured them. Placing himself at the head of the *manne* chiefs he opposed boldly an army of Kutapana Malaka in battle and having increased the flood of the river Pennā with streams of the newly shed blood of the ever-vigilant, and cruel Muhammadans, he presented to his master the damsel of victory.

Velugōtiivāri Vaṁśavali, 339.

210. YĀCAMA.

SUMMARY.

Yācama entered the forts of Kandanavōlu, Gutti, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Gōlkonda, Makkha, Konḍavīdu, Udayādri, Nellore, Ōrukallu, Kaṭakam, Delhi, and Kāśikāpuri (1) *.

Velugōtiivāri Vaṁśavali, 406.

211. VENKĀṬA II AND HIS REBELLIOUS SUBORDINATES.

During the reign of Śrīrangarāya, Gōpālarāja, a descendant of Rāmarāja of Kandanavōlu, was governing Kandanavōlu.

* It is absurd to say that Yācama entered such far off places as Delhi and Kāśikāpuri. This verse appears to be later interpolation.

Then, Venkatapati^{ra}ja, the younger brother of Śrīranga-^{ra}ya, having ascended the Jewelled-throne both at Penugonda and Candragiri, was ruling the kingdom. Gopālarāja strengthened the fortifications of Kandananvōlu, and became powerful. Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja was ruling at Nandyāla.

* * * *

Kṛṣṇamarāja who was governing Nandyāla rebelled against Venkatapati^{ra}ya, who consequently marched on the fort of Nandyāla with an army accompanied by the Haṇḍe chief and Maṭla Ellamarāja Dēvacōda Mahārāja, and laid siege to it. Kṛṣṇamarāja met Venkatapati^{ra}ya by means of the good services of Ellamarāja (and made peace with him). Venkatapati^{ra}ya carried away Kṛṣṇamarāja with him to Candragiri and annexed his territory.

This fact is mentioned in the *kavile* of Pērusōmala in the Koilakuntla *tālukā*. The date is said to be Š.S. 1520 Vilambi (A.D. 1598).

Kaifiyat of Kandananvōlu : L.R. 16, pp. 496, 499.

212. VENKATA II AND NANDYĀLA KRṢNAMARĀJA.

While Nandyāla Śrī Kṛṣṇamarāja was ruling at the fort of Nandyāla, Vīra Venkatapati^{de}va Mahārāya marched with his army from Candragiri in Š.S. 1520 Hēvilambi, and having secured the support of Haṇḍe Dēvappa Nāyadu, and other *manne sāmantas* laid siege to the fort of Nandyāla. He fought with the defenders for some time and captured it. In Vilambi he entrusted a portion of the territory to Dēvappa Nāyaka. At that time, owing to the absence of proper government, many holders of the *agrahāras* migrated to other parts of the country, as the conditions of *agrahāras* were not properly maintained.

Kaifiyat of Alavakonḍa : L.R. 8, p. 23.

213(a). NANDYĀLA KRṢNAMARĀJA.

When Venkatapati^{de}varāya, having ascended the throne both in Penugonda and Candragiri, was ruling the kingdom, Maṭla Ellamarāja defeated Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja in the battle

of Jambulamadaka, on behalf of the Rāya and offered him protection. He also defeated Konḍrāju Tirupatirāju, the governor of Siddhavatam *sīma*, at Ūtukūr and annexed his territory.

Kaifiyat of Ūtukūr : L.R. 17, pp. 47-48.

213(b).

During the reign of Venkaṭapatiṛāya at Candragiri Venkaṭāmarāju of the family of the Cittivēli chiefs who joined the side of Venkaṭapatiṛāya, the lord of the throne of Vidyānagara, won a victory over Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja in the battle of Jambulamadaka.* Having taken Kṛṣṇamarāja prisoner, he offered him protection.

Konḍrāju Tirupatirāju was holding sway over Siddhavatam as a subordinate of Venkaṭapatiṛāya ; Matla Ellamarāja, the chief of Cittivēli, defeated him in a battle at Ūtukūr and seized Siddhavatam.

Kaifiyat of Siddhavatam : L.R. 9, p. 281.

214. THE MATLA CHIEFS IN THE REIGN OF VENKĀTA II.

After the death of Śrīrangarāja, Konḍrāju and Tirupatirāju entertained the idea of ruling independently the Siddhavatam *sīma* together with Pottapi *sīma*. After the death of Śrīrangarāya, the Matla chief Ellamarāja and his sons went over to the side of Venkaṭapatiṛāya, who was ruling at Candragiri. Owing to the enmity that existed between them and the Matla chiefs, they confiscated Pondalūru, Penagalūru, Ponnappalli and other villages included in the Siddhavatam and Pottapinādu *sīmas* which were enjoyed by the Matla chiefs as their *amaram* villages.

Śrīman Mahāmāndaleśvara Kṛṣṇamarāja of the Lunar race, a *jñāti* of Venkaṭapatiṛāya, who was governing the Nandyāla *sīma* began to rule the district without paying any regard to Venkaṭapatiṛāya. Konḍrāju Tirupatirāju, the ruler of Siddhavatam *sīma*, posted a garrison at Ūtukūr, a *sammat*

* This exploit is ascribed in other *Kaifiyats* to Matla Ellamarāja.

village in the Pottapi-*nāṭi sīma*, to prevent any attack upon it from Pulugula *nādu* which was included in the territory of Venkata-pati-rāya, the king of Candragiri. Kondräju Tirupati-rāju paid a visit to Ūṭukūr with the object of strengthening his hold on the whole of Pottapi-*nāṭi sīma*. Venkata-pati-rāya despatched an army under *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Matla Ellamarāja, the father of Tirumalarāja, in order to destroy the fort erected by Kondräju Tirupati-rāju at Ūṭukūr, seize Pottapi *nādu* and post the garrisons of his own troops to protect it. He also promised that he would grant to Ellamarāja the town of Siddhavaṭam together with the territory attached to it as *amaram* provided that he effected its conquest. Accordingly Matla Ellamarāja accompanied the Rāya's army, and marched to Ūṭukūr, where Kondräju Tirupati-rāju, the governor of Siddhavaṭam *sīma*, was then residing. When he attempted to enter Ūṭukūr, he came into conflict with Kondräju Tirupati-rāju who was, however, killed in the battle that was fought outside the precincts of the village. Having posted a garrison in the fort, Ellamarāja pursued the followers of Tirupati-rāju who were fleeing the country by three different routes, going to Pōli, Neladalūr, and Kondūr respectively. He succeeded in overtaking them before they crossed the frontier and put them all to the sword either at Pōli, Kondūr or Neladalūr. The portion of the enemy's army fleeing by the Pottapi road, unable to resist his attack took refuge in the Nīru Hills in the north of Pottapi. This account of Ellamarāja's pursuit of the enemy is based upon the laudatory verses which the *Bhāṭs* composed in memory of his victory.

Tirumalarāja, the younger brother of Matla Ellamarāja, proceeded at the head of an army to Cennūr, put to death Kondräju Venkata-drīrāja, who was governing the place as the deputy of Kondräju Tirupati-rāju, and took possession of it. He conquered next the districts of Kāmalāpuram, Duvvūr, Pōrumāmilla, Baddevōlu, and reduced the estates of the *manne* chiefs and the *pālems* to subjection. While engaged in a war with *pālaigars*, Tirumalarāja met his death. In the poem

composed by the *Bhaṭs* during the time of Kumāra Anantarāja it is stated that Tirumalarāja crushed the *pāṭems* of the *mannes* on the frontier, and having put the enemies to death each separately, he perished like Abhimanyu in the fight.

The capture of Siddhavaṭam by Ellamarāja is also mentioned in an inscription which his son Anantarāja caused to be engraved on the wall, enclosing the Siddhēśvara shrine which he erected.

“In the Śaka year (counted by) horses (7) eyes (2) arrows (5) earth (1), i.e. 1527 corresponding to Viśvāvasu..... Ananta built the large stone wall of Siddhavaṭam which his father obtained (as a consequence of his victory) in the battle of Īṭukūr.”

Moreover, in the Telugu *sīsamālika* that is inscribed just below this verse, it is said that his (Ananta’s) father, Ellama converted a spring near Siddhavaṭam, which he took at the point of the sword after defeating Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju, into an irrigation tank and called it after his name.

Ellamarāja Dēvacōda Mahārāja effected the conquest of Siddhavaṭam and other districts in the manner described above. In accordance with his solemn promise, Venkaṭapatirāya granted to Matla Ellamarāja as *amara-nāyamkara* Pulugula-*nāṭi* *sīma* included in the Candragiri *rājya* together with Pottapi-*nādu* and Siddhavaṭam *sīmas* belonging to the Udayagiri *rājya*. Moreover, he entrusted to him the administration of the districts of Cennūr, Duvvūr, Kāmalāpuram, Pōrumāmillā and Badvēli.

At that time, Śrīman *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja, the governor of Nandyāla *sīma*, did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Venkaṭapatirāya. In Ś. S. 1520 Hēvilambi, when Venkaṭapatirāya started from Candragiri with his army to subdue him, he took Ellamarāja also with him. Having left Candragiri he reached Pērusōmala in the Kōila-kunṭla *sīma*, where he halted three days. Thence he advanced upon Nandyāla and laid siege to it. Kṛṣṇamarāja defended the fort for three months, but he could not offer further resistance

to the Rāya's army, which had, in the meantime, greatly increased in strength owing to the arrival of the Pemmasāni and the Haṇḍe chiefs with their forces to help him. Kṛṣṇamāraja showed his willingness to conclude peace on the assurances given by Ellamarāja, and he met the Rāya in an interview when they became reconciled with each other. The Rāya showed him much favour and kept him in comfort in Candragiri.

There is evidence to show that Maṭla Ellamarāja and Venkāṭapatiṛāya advanced together with an army on Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja and subdued him. The proof of this is recorded in the *kavile* and the *ayacut* account written by the Kannadi-karṇam, Nandirāja, and others of the fore-mentioned Pērusōmala. Moreover, an inscription dated S. S. 1527 Viśvāvasu engraved on the wall enclosing the Siddhēśvara shrine on the eastern side of the gate of the Siddhavaṭam fort which Maṭla Ananta Dēvacōḍa Mahārāja, son of Ellamarāja, had constructed shows that Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja concluded peace with Venkāṭapatiṛāya on the assurances of safety given to him by Maṭla Ellamarāja. (Anantarāja) describes at some length the achievements of his father, Ellamarāja, in that inscription.

Two lines of the *sīsamālika* run as follows: --

He possessed the skilful rod-like arms capable of giving protection to Nandyāla Kṛṣṇama, and he bore the title, "the right-hand of the lord of the whole Karṇāṭa."

A few days later Maṭla Ellamarāja died.

Kaifiyat of Cittivēli: L.R. 22, pp. 190—201.

215(a). AGGRESSIONS OF MATLA ELLAMARĀJA.

When Vīra Venkāṭapatiḍēva Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom, Kondrāju and Tīrpatiṛāju, these two, were governing this village together with the Siddhavaṭam *sīma* on his behalf.* Matla Ellamarāju, the master of the Cittivēlu estate, conquered Siddhavaṭam.

Kaifiyat of Kottīrī: L.R. 13, p. 585.

* This contradicts the statement of the *Kaifiyat of Cittivēli* that Kondrāju and Tīrpatiṛāju rebelled against Venkāṭapatiṛāya.

When Matla Ellama took the fort of Siddhavatam, his enemies fled from the place unable to offer any resistance; some disguised themselves as snake-charmers and artisans to earn their livelihood; and others took refuge in hills and jungles.

Kumudavatikalyanam, Canto I.

216(a). MATLA ANANTA, SON OF ELLA.

The bards state that the Khāns of Asvarāya's army were killed by the sword of Matla Anantarāja. Notwithstanding all that they still remain encamped with their four-fold army in front of the camp (of the gods) in the country of Indra (*Vēlupu-Rāyalasima*)*

Abhisitkarāgavam (unpublished) : Mad. Govt. Or. MSS. Lib;
A Descriptive Catalogue of Telugu MSS. Vol. II, p. 439;
Mac. MSS. 14-2-36 ff 3-4.

216(b).

Ellamarāja died some time later. The *pālaigārs* stirred up a rebellion, taking advantage of his death. Kōnamarāja, the son of Ellamarāja, by his senior wife Dādemāmbā, went with an army to suppress the rebellion and was killed by the rebels. Thereupon, Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ananta Dēvacōda Mahārāja, another son of Ellama, by his fourth wife, gathered troops and subdued the *pālaigārs*. He enjoyed the *sīmas* of Pulugula-nāḍu and Pottapi together with Siddhavatam as his *amaram*, and carried on the administration of Duvvūr, Cennūr, Kāmalāpuram, Pōrumāmilla, and Baddevōlu.

An army of the *Turuskas* from the land of Mussalmans laid siege to Penugonḍa, the capital of the Rāya. On the command of Venkaṭapatiṛāya, Anantarāja marched to Penugonḍa and put the besiegers to flight. The Rāya honoured him much, and in appreciation of his services, conferred upon

* There is pun on the word 'Vēlupu-Rāyalasima'. The author indicates that though these *Khāns* were put to death in the *Rāyalasima* (sīma of the Rāya of Vijayanagara) they continued to harass the *sīma* (country) of the Rāya (king) of the celestial beings.

him titles and a dress of honour. This is proved by a laudatory *sīsamālika* which the *Bhāṭs* composed in praise of Kumāra Anantarāja, a grandson of Anantarāja.

“Then, Kōnarāja proceeded against the enemies to destroy them ; having slain the foes in battle, he plundered the glory of Indra (i.e. died) and won the applause of the *manne* chiefs of his rank, *Bhāṭs*, and poets in the presence of the Rāya.”

“Your grandfather, king Ananta, put down those treacherous enemies ; he engaged himself like Hanumān in performing deeds beneficial to his master, and destroyed the Muhammadan forces at Penugonḍa thereby exciting the admiration of the famous nobles and the Rāya.”

After the destruction of the Muhammadan army at Penugonḍa, he returned to Siddhavaṭam, which he made his permanent abode. Now, the officer who was governing the fort of Gurramkonda, made an attack upon the territory belonging to the Rāya’s army (*Rāyarāṇuva*). At the instance of Venkatapatiṛāya, Matla Ananta Dēvacōda Mahārāja, marched with an army, and having invested the fort, he demolished one of its bastions. The commandant of the fort sued for peace (which he granted). Then he returned to Siddhavaṭam, having paid a visit to Candragiri on his way.

The *Bhāṭs* composed the following verse when he overthrew the bastion during the siege of Gurramkonda.

“O ! Ananta, son of Matla Ella.....you fought without being frightened by the gun-powder bags scattering flames in the sky, like the wild-fire ; or confused by the reports of guns emptying volleys of hissing fire, or perplexed by stones falling down like the showers in the *Citta** ; or alarmed by the roar of the cannon, piercing, as it were, the space itself. You overthrew the bastion of Gurramkonda and won the applause of the *Pāduśāha* and others.”

* * * * *

* Here the *kārti* called *Citta* during which the rain falls in torrents is referred to. *Kārti* means ‘the particular constellation out of the 27, in which the sun happens to be’—Brown.

While he was ruling at Siddhavatam in peace, he converted a small pond which was in the neighbourhood of the town into an irrigation tank and erected around the Siddhēśvara temple a wall on which he caused an inscription to be engraved.*

While this Anantarāja was ruling, an army consisting of *pātra-sāmantas* and *manne-sāmantas* came from Udayagiri with the object of surrounding Baddevōlu *sīma* and halted near Kamalakūru. At the instance of Venkatapatiṛāya, Anantarāja marched with his army, and having attacked the armies of the Muhammadans and the Rāvilla chiefs, won a victory over them at Gurramkonda. Besides, he led an expedition up to Kōlār in the west and returned with victory.

These exploits of Anantarāja were praised by the *Bhāṭs* of the time in a verse.

“ O ! Matla Ananta, son of king Ella....., did you not destroy the petty chiefs of Udayagiri in a fierce battle at Kamalakūru ? Did you not defeat the forces of the Rāvilla chief in a battle near Gurramkonda ? Did you not firmly establish yourself near the fort of Kōlāla without raising the siege ? ”

While (Anantarāja) was ruling in this manner, Nandyāla Kṛṣṇamarāja whom Venkatapatiṛāya carried away to Chandragiri breathed his last ; and his son Nārasimharāja succeeded him. Matla Anantarāja also died some time later at Siddhavatam.

Kaifiyat of Cīṭṭivēli : L. R. 22, pp. 202-9.

216(c).

SUMMARY.

Matla Ananta attacked Kutupu Sāhu (Quṭb Shāh) in the neighbourhood of Penugonda and put him to flight ; his forces fell upon Asvarāya’s cavalry near Gandikōṭa and cut them to

* As this inscription has been published by the late Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvat in the *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, it is not included in this extract.

pieces ; he vanquished in battle the forces of Kampa Nainappa the governor of Uddagiri (Udayagiri), and subdued a Gurramkonḍa Rāviḷa Konḍa and Venkata. He also executed successfully the commission entrusted to him by the Rāya by putting down Virappa, (the Nāyaka) of Madura.

Kumudavatikalyāṇam, Canto 1

217. THE WAR BETWEEN THE PEMMASĀNI AND MATLA CHIEFS.

During the reign of Venkatāpatirāya, king of Penugonḍa this country was administered by Matla Kumāra Anantarāja the chief of Cittivēli. He was engaged in a war with Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyadū, the governor of the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa. However, a peace was concluded by the terms of which Cilamkūru in Duvvūr tālūka was fixed as a boundary between the estates of the two chiefs. The country to the west of Cilamkūru was given to Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyadū and that to the east of it was assigned to Matla Kumāra Anantarāja.

Kaifiyat of Allidona : *L. R. 1*, p. 142

218. YĀCAMĀ NĀYADŪ (THE SIEGE OF UTTARAMALLŪR). SUMMARY.

Yācama, the son of Ranga, and the grandson of Yāca boldly took possession of the Perimēti *sīma* which Vira Venkata-patirāya granted to him. Having stationed his troops at Madhurāntakam, he led an expedition on the next day against the fort of Uttaramallūr which he captured by escalade. On hearing the news of the capture of the fort, Āradi Nāga became indignant. He sent for the adventurous hero, Dāvula Pāpa, and explained to him how Yācama attacked and captured Uttaramallūr. Having warned him that he should be ready to wage war on Yācama, he summoned to his assistance, the nobles and petty chiefs under him as well as the powerful Reddis and *pālaigārs*. He also obtained some elephants and horses from Ceñji and Tañjavūr. He placed this army under the command of Dāvula Cinna Pāpa, and sent him against Uttaramallūr with instructions to recapture it. Pāpa

marched at the head of an army comprising 100 elephants, 500 pairs of horses, 1,000 nobles riding in palanquins, 10,000 archers, 70,000 rockets, 12,000 matchlockmen, and 30,000 infantry, and encamped on the east of Uttaramallūr on S.S. 1523, Plava, Jyēṣṭha śu 10, Sunday.*

Yācama was not frightened at the sight of this huge host. He remembered his father's victory over Matla Timma with his 12,000. Therefore, he advanced upon the enemy on horseback, accompanied by his brother, Singama riding on an elephant with such intrepidity that even the Sultān, the Gajapati and Vīra Venkatapatiरāya admired him. His friends, brothers, relations and dependents followed him with 2,000 soldiers.

In the battle that ensued, the following chiefs were slain :—

1. Balumūri Venkatappa.
2. Pūsapāṭi Kṛṣṇamarāju.
3. Muppālla Rāgana.
4. Gadepūdi Ayyana.
5. Ayyana, son of Yera Ōbulēndra.
6. Pulagamu Kālayya.
7. Maccarla Timmana.
8. Kētireddi Tammana.
9. Dāmerla Lingana.
10. Gōna Tippana.
11. Panjula Vīrappa.
12. Sūru, son of Divvalēndra.
13. Itikela Rangana.
14. Sandināyani Venga.
15. Pāṇem Rāmarāju.
16. Durgamu Peddu.
17. Lingamanēni Nāgana.
18. Kalive Vengana.
19. Cina Cidambararāju.
20. Verrirāju.

21. Kilāri Venkāṭa.
22. Muddu Venkāṭa.
23. Viramanēni Ellappa.
24. Potlapalli Laccana.
25. Cintapatla Ōbana.
26. Kōṭapāṭi Cenna Kṛṣṇappa.
27. Dāvula Cinna Pāpa.

The following were taken prisoners :—

1. Dāmerla Karicenna.
2. Kāmireddi.
3. Sarvappa.
4. Nāgajanapāla.

The chiefs of several *pālems* were also captured. Many fled. The most noteworthy of them are :—

1. Ceraku Rāghavanēdu.
2. Bālamūrti.
3. Vissāreddi.
4. Pālepu Tirumalayya.
5. Sālva Kōnamarāju.
6. Kañci Mallu.
7. Mōpūri Timmana.
8. Ganipinēdu.
9. Vilapurapu Virappayya.
10. Ceppalli Siddinēdu.
11. Satram Nāgappa.
12. The Reddis of Kañci-Nambāka.
13. Odiyappa.
14. Šesādri.
15. The members of the Ōda family.
16. Dāvula Sarvappa.
17. The Paḍaivīṭi chiefs.
18. The troopers from Ceñji.
19. Nellipatla chiefs.
20. Mallāreddi Mallappa.
21. Cakkani Rāju.

22. Dāvula Mūrti.
23. Pānembāka Pāparāju.
24. Maddikāyala Cinna Timmana.
25. Üdigēla Yerru.
26. Bōya Rāmana.
27. The Āmūri chief.

Yācama did not pursue the flying troops of the enemy ; he ordered that the trumpet of *dharma* should be blown. Having heard of this glorious victory, Vira Venkaṭapatiṛāya honoured Yācama by presenting him dresses, jewels, vehicles, and lands.

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, pp. 137-41.

219(a). YĀCAMA NĀYADŪ (SIEGE OF UTTARAMALLŪR).

SUMMARY.

Yācama, son of Ranga of the Recerla family and a descendant of Sarvajña Singama, plundered on one occasion Boppanagāri (?) and destroyed the army of the Kṣatriyas who opposed him and annexed that territory ; then, he went on an expedition of conquest and captured the fort of Uttaramallūr. Having subdued the armies of the enemy he annexed the territory attached to it.

On hearing this information Linga, the ruler of Vēlūr was very much annoyed. Considering that it was not prudent to wage war on the Velugōti chief single-handed, he took counsel with his friend, Āraḍi Nāgama Nēdu and explained to him how Yācama treated his army with contempt, and began not only to occupy his territory but capture his forts also. Nāgama who was proud of his wealth and military strength said that putting Yācama to flight was not a serious affair. He summoned his brave brother-in-law, Dāvāla Pāpayya, and said : " Yācama Nēdu, having become powerful, encroached on (our territory) and captured our forts by the strength of his army ; there is none at present among the *manne* chiefs who is capable of leading an expedition against him. You alone possess the skill to gather armies together and disperse them ; besides you

are very fond of adventure. You must somehow achieve this task, and protect the family."

Pāpayya promised to march against the fort at once and capture it by escalade. He gathered together troops from Āraṇi, Ceṇji and Vēlūr; then he despatched letters to the powerful chiefs of the forts of Tiṇḍivanam, Tiruvadi, Valadāpuram, Vandavāsi, Gōtūru, Tiruvattūru, Asamandūru, Kathile and Ārcot, the petty chiefs of Madhura and Tañjāvūr, the dependents from the neighbourhood of Pādaivīḍu with their powerful horse, and rutting elephants, and the *pālaigārs* of Nelli-patla, Guḍipāḍu and Āmūr, soliciting their help. When these chiefs came with their forces, cutting open the bags, he distributed money among them. He completed his preparations, and marched with great pomp to Uttaramallūr, where he lay encamped eagerly expecting to fight the enemy. Some of his friends attempted to dissuade Pāpayya from fighting with Yācama, as they were convinced that he would be defeated in the battle; but he turned a deaf ear to their advice. With a force of 100 elephants, 2,000 fully armoured horses, several foot-soldiers, 6,000 archers, 4,000 or 5,000 rocketsmatch-lockmen 16,000 lancers, etc., he delivered an attack upon the eastern side of the fort of Uttaramallūr with great clamour.

When Yācama saw the army of the enemy, he resolved to deliver an attack immediately, though he had only 3,000 soldiers to oppose an army of 30,000. In the battle that ensued, forty chiefs that were in the front line including Gadepūdi Ayyana, Kōṭapāṭi Cennappa Kṛṣṇappa, Kēti Reddi, Cintapatla Obanna and Cāndinēni Venganna were killed. Dāmerla Cennappa, who was wounded while fighting boldly with the enemy, was taken prisoner; and hundred others received wounds. The head of Dāvāla Pāpayya who was fiercely charging the enemy was cut off; Kalive Venkaṭarāju, and his nephew, Ayyaparāju, Pānem Rāmarāju, Cina Cidambararāju, and several others were put to death. The elephants were captured, and the horses were slain, the troopers, the archers, the dischargers of rockets, and the lancers were harassed.

Pōvela Venkaṭarāju, his brother Timmarāju, Sūrya-nārāyaṇēndra, Kumāra Kālaparāju, the brave Nāgāreddi, and Cappalli Siddanna were taken prisoners. The troops that offered resistance were cut to pieces, and the survivors took to flight. Among those that fled, the following chiefs are mentioned :—

1. Pālepū Tirumalayya.
2. Bālamūrti.
3. Mōpūri Timmanna.
4. Vīrapayya.
5. Vadīyappa.
6. Sēśādri, the Brāhmaṇa.
7. Satram Nāgappa.
8. Varada Bōya.
9. Bōya Rāmanna.
10. Dāvāla Cinnamūrti.
11. Üdigāla Yārrappa.
12. Ceṛaku Rāghava Nēdu.
13. Pammerla Bukkarāju.
14. Ganipi Nēdu.
15. Sālva Kōnapparāju.
16. Sarvappa Parvappa.
17. Bommayya.
18. Puñji Timmayya.
19. The Vāda People.
20. The Reddis of Kañci-Tambādi.
21. Pulipatṭu Bāpayya.
22. Rāmanna.
23. Maccarla Timmanna.
24. Kañci Mallappa.
25. Ayyappanēdu.

The Padaivīdu forces disappeared ; and the pride of Nellipatṭu chief was broken ; Verrirāju who was not able to flee with the pālaigārs died like a mad man ; Nalakōṭa Cennappa Kṛṣṇappa lost his life in some unknown place.

Yācama married the damsel of victory, at midday on Sunday śu 10, in the month of Jyēṣṭha of the year Plava.* The Sun and the Moon, and the fort of Uttaramallūr witnessed this function. Having won this glorious victory, Yācama returned to Karnāṭaka, where he was greatly honoured by Venkaṭapati-rāya.

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, pp. 143-152.

219 (b).

Yāca Śūra, who was also known as Peda Yācama Nāyaḍu, was at Madhurāntakam governing the Perimidi-sīma which Vīra Venkaṭapati-rāya granted to him. He marched with his troops to the fort of Uttaramallūr which he captured by escalade. Āraḍi Nāgappa Nāyaḍu, the governor of the fort, summoned his brother-in-law, the brave Dāvāla Pāpā Nāyaḍu and said: "Yācama Nāyaḍu seized our fort, Uttaramallūr. It is, therefore, necessary that we should wage war upon him." Then he sent with him as auxiliaries the petty chiefs, Reddis, and *pālaigārs* that held estates in his districts as well as the contingents of elephants and horses which the rulers of Ceñji and Tañjāvūr sent to his assistance.

Dāvāla Pāpā Nāyaḍu who was accompanied by Balumūru Venkatappa Nāyaḍu, Kṛṣṇamarāju, Muppalla Rāganna, Gadipūdi Ayyanna, Yaga Vōbulayya, Pulagamu Kālayya, Mācarla Timmanna, Kētureddi, Dāmerla Lingama Nāyaḍu, Dāmerla Kari-Cennapa Nāyaḍu and 1,000 other *sardārs*, marched at the head of an army consisting of 100 elephants, 1,000 horses and 30,000 foot, and laid siege to the fort of Uttaramallūr.

Yāca Śūra was not alarmed when he came to know that Dāvāla Pāpāyya was marching upon him with a huge host. His younger brother, Sarvajña Śingama Nāyaḍu and himself opposed the enemy with 2,000 cavalry. They put the enemy to flight, slew the thousand *sardārs* such as Balumūru Venkatappa and wounded 6,000 troops. At last when they beheaded Dāvāla Pāpā Nāyaḍu, the rest of his followers sought safety in flight.

* Sunday, 31st May 1601 (S.S. 1523).

Yāca Śūra won, in this fashion, a victory in a fierce battle on S.S. 1524, Plava, Jyēṣṭha, śu 10, Sunday.*

Velugōṭivāri Vāṁśacaritra, pp. 97-98.

220. VELLORE, THE CAPITAL OF VENKATA II.

This *kṣetra-āyakatṭu* (account) is prepared by Lingarāju, the *karapam* of the village of Vaddirāla, on hail! 1527th year of the ever victorious Śālivāhana Śaka corresponding to Krōdhi, Magha, ba. 10. This *āyakatṭu* (account) is prepared while (with titles) Venkaṭapatiṛāyalayya is governing the kingdom of the earth in the city of Vēlūru.

* * * * *

The *kṣetra-āyakatṭu-vivaram* is prepared by Cina-Śūrappa, son of Vēdādri, the *karapam* of Vaddirāla, on hail! 1531st year of the ever victorious Śālivāhana Śaka corresponding to Kilaka, Vaiśākha, śu 7. This *āyakatṭu* (account) is prepared while (with titles) Vīra Venkaṭayyārāyanigāru is ruling the kingdom of the earth in the city of Vēlūru.

Kaifiyat of Vaddirāla: L.R. 20, p. 191.

221. MATLA TIRUVENGALĀNĀTHA.

His (Anantarāja's) son, Tiruvengalānātha, who succeeded him, carried on the administration of the estate. Vīra Venkaṭapatiḍēva Mahārāya who was greatly impressed with his prowess presented to him golden drums, the fish-standard taken from an enemy, and the Rāya's own horse and elephant, together with their trappings. The *Bhaṭs* who were present on the occasion composed (the following) verse in his praise :—

“ O ! King Matla Tiruvengalānātha, the Rāya commended your courage, and gracefully bestowed upon you the *suramāyi*, the whisk of heroism. O ! king, the emperor granted you the rare privilege of using the golden drums, having complimented you on your strength. He gave you the *malahari*, as if to grant you permission to conquer the countries of the enemy ; he presented to you kindly the fish-standard, the symbol of power over all earth, even on the day on which you took it. More-

* The date is not correct. The correct date is S.S. 1523.

over, the lord of Karnāṭa presented to you his own riding horses and elephants together with tassels of matchless pearls, and an yellow *pāvāda*."

While this Tiruvengalanātha was holding the districts of Pulugula-*nādu* and Pottapi-*nādu* together with Siddhavatām-*sīma* as his *amaram*, and governing (as a deputy of the Rāya) the *sīmas* of Duvvūr, Cennūr, Pōrumāmilla and Badvēl, he met, on one occasion, in the court of Venkaṭapatiṛāya at Candragiri, Gōpālarāja, a cousin-german of the Rāya, who was governing the *sīma* of Kandanavōlu. In the course of conversation, Gōpālarāja observed : "Your father and grandfather were brave soldiers, who showed great valour. You have not as yet seen any serious fighting. Moreover, you are still young. Therefore, it won't be to your advantage to walk in the footsteps of your ancestors. You will strengthen your position, by adjusting your conduct to the exigencies of time."

On receiving this advice, Tiruvengalanātha was annoyed. He replied : "However much you may treat us as youngsters, you have to be protected by people like us, when you are beset by enemies. There is no other way." Then, Gōpālarāja went to Kandanavōlu, and Tiruvengalanātha to Siddhavatām.

* * * *

While Matla Tiruvenaglanātha was thus ruling (at Siddhavatām) Vira Venkaṭapatiṛāya breathed his last in Candragiri in Š.S. 1532 Saumya (Jan.-Feb. 1610 A.D.)*

Kaifiyat of Cittivēli : L.R. 22, pp. 209-12.

222. VENKATA II'S EXPEDITION AGAINST MADHURA.

SUMMARY.

Muluvāgālu (II) having, by the prowess of his arm, caused the destruction of the pride of the Lord of Madhura, was received with honour by Venkaṭapatiṛāya and henceforward assumed the title of Cikkarāya.

Kōḍūru Venkaṭācalapati : *Skāndapurāṇam*, *Śivarahasyakhaṇḍam*,
Mad. Govt. Or. MSS. Lib. D. No. 322, 13-1-37, p. 4-a.

* This date is wrong, as there is strong evidence to show that Venkaṭapatiṛāya ruled until 1614 A.D. (See *Hist. Ins.*, p. 270); *N.D.I.* iii. U. 19 purports to be a grant made by him in Š.S. 1537 (1615 A.D.).

222 (a). TIRUMALARĀYA'S CORONATION.

Tirumalarāya attained great fame as a Rājarāja after crowning himself in Śaka 1506, Pārthiva at Śrīrangapattanam on the throne set with nine gems taking possession of all the Kārṇātaka kingdom along with his *Dalavāy* Maṭli (Maṭla) Venkatayyan, granting lands to Śrīranganāyakkar, repairing many temples and doing acts of charity as in the days of the Rāyar of old. Then after Śrīrangarāya who was at Penukonda attained heaven in Śaka 1512, Khara, his son (younger brother) Venkaṭapatirāya was protecting the kingdom after his coronation at Penukonda. Venkaṭapatirāya, the younger brother of Śrīrangarāya, was ruling from Candragiri. While this was the position, Tirumalarāya, on hearing the news that Virappa Nāyaka of Madura was coming to Śrīrangapattanam with all his forces, went with all his army along with his *Dalavāy* Venkaṭapati Ayyan as far as Palani, fought many battles with them and won. Virappa Nāyaka of Madura having sustained defeat and retreated, *Dalavāy* Venkaṭapati Ayyan pursued him in the company of the king, and plundered the territory of Madura. Virappa Nāyaka of Madura gave much wealth to Venkaṭapatirāyan, (Venkaṭapati Ayya ?) who thereupon contrived to betray Tirumalarāyan into the hands of the enemy by a cunning trick, came back to Śrīrangapattanam with all his forces and ruled the kingdom himself. Then, when Tirumalarāya obtained his release from them and returned to Śrīrangapattanam, Venkaṭapatirāya (Venkaṭapati Ayyan ?) drove him away without allowing him to come to the city. Then Tirumalarāya was staying in the village of Malingakēśarai. Then, when all the *pālaigārs*, listening to the words of Venkaṭapati Ayyan, and saying that they did not want Tirumalarāyan, came with all their forces to the village of Kēśarai and laid siege to it. Rāja Udaiyār, the ruler of Mysore, came with all his forces to Kēśarai, made war against them and defeated all the *pālaigārs* and stayed there. Since Venkaṭapati Ayyan came to the fort of Śrīrangapattanam and was staying in it with a feeble force, some people entered it by deceitful means after which Rāja Udaiyār also came in and

took possession of it. In Śaka 1536, Saumya (it) came into the possession of Rāja Udaiyār of the dynasty of the Mysore kings.

Koṅgudēśarājākkalincaritram : *Mac. MSS. 16-6-9, ff. 95-b-98-a.*

223. KUMĀRA KRŚNAPPA NĀYAKA AND ŚRĪRANGAM.

Then when Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka was ruling, he presented through the same Narasimhadēśika 1,50,000 *pon* in the form of a gold encasement (*ratna aṅgi*), a golden crown and other things.

Kōyilolugū, p. 151.

224(a). MATŁA TIRUVENGALĀNĀTHA AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS.

SUMMARY.

The soldiers of the army of the king of Bijāpūr who had been cut down by the sword of Matla Tiruvengalanātha, look down from heaven upon their headless bodies lying upon the ground with feelings of hostility.

The *apsarasas* of the *Svarga* adopted various subterfuges to escape from the embrace of the barbarous Turuśkas whom Matla Tiruvengalanātha had slain in battle.

Abhīṣiktarāghavam : *Mac. MSS. 14-2-36, p. 4-b.*

224(b).

SUMMARY.

Matla Tiruvengalanātha who was a brave warrior was distinguished by several titles, the most important of which are: *Pekkaṇḍru-rājula-kokkettu-manya-maṇḍalikara-gaṇḍa*, *aivara-gaṇḍa*, *sūryavāṁśōddhāraka*, etc. Vira Venkatapatiṛāya, the emperor of Karnāṭaka, granted him the privilege of using, as a part of his insignia, *vira-patākika* or the ensign of the heroes, a war-drum called *vira-malahari*, and a musical instrument called *cakravāḍya*; he also presented to Tiruvengalanātha, a sword set with gems, elephants in rut, Arab horses, and ornaments inlaid with precious stones.

Tiruvengalanātha conquered several forts, such as Gutti, Enumugonda, Surāpura, Rāyavara, and Rāyavīḍu. He defeated at Mācanōlu the combined forces of the chiefs of Gāndikōṭa and other places in the neighbourhood; scaled the walls of Nendimangala and Kāmalāpura within half a *ghaṭika*; and

captured during the course of a single campaign Pandillapalli, Kōkaṭam and Kallūr; and reduced the forts of Vellāla and Pōrumāmilla. He obtained victory as soon as the declaration of his war on Narasāpura was proclaimed. He overthrew in a battle Handeya Kumāra Dēmappa and the governor of the fort of Udayagiri.

Kumudvatikalyāṇam, Canto I.

225. THE SETTLEMENT OF A COMMUNAL DISPUTE
DURING THE TIME OF VENKATA II.

On Caitra ba. 10 of the year Virōdhi*, the day of the car festival of the God Raghunātha of Oṇtimitṭa, the Balijas came to us, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Matla Anantārājayya Dēvacōḍa Mahārāja, (with a request) that the carpenters and blacksmiths should not be allowed to mount the car putting on their *paccadas*.† We asked, "What is the practice in Tirupati?" In reply, they said: "According to the practice regulated formerly by Peda Tirumalarājayya at Tirupati, this privilege is allowed to the carpenters and blacksmiths, with due regard to the worship of the God;‡ the carpenters and blacksmiths (are allowed to) put on their *paccadas* and jewels, apply sandal-paste to themselves and mount the car, holding the tools of their respective professions in their hands." We have decided accordingly. You should willingly observe this practice.

N.B.—'This inscription does not bear the Śaka date. On a comparison with the inscription at Siddhavaṭam, Virōdhi is found to correspond to Ś.S. 1511.'

An inscription at Oṇtimitṭa: L. R. 13, p. 509.

226. BANDITS IN THE TIME OF VENKATA II.

Dacoits from the western country broke into the house of a wealthy farmer of the Arakōṭi family in the province of Udayagiri and plundered it completely. While returning to the west they came to Allidona, and halted for taking rest in the jungle at the foot of the hillocks on the west of the village at a distance of a mile. The Arakōṭi people who discovered

* March 31, A. D., 1589.

† *Paccada* means the upper garment of men.

‡ The passage is corrupt; and the translation is only tentative.

the tracks of the thieves pursued them and having found out their hiding place attacked them. In the fight that ensued, people were killed on both the sides. The surviving members of the Arakōti family sent information to their village, and their women-folk came and fell into the fire-pit. Their likenesses are carved on stones which have acquired the name *vīrulu* ever since. The valley is called *Vīrla-pāya* and people visit the place to fulfil their vows. During the administration of this Matla Anantarāja, a village was built in the fields of Allidona, and it was significantly named *Vīrulapura*.

Kaifiyat of Allidona: L.R. 1, pp. 144-5; *Mac. MSS.* 15-3-57, pp. 34-5.

227. HIGHWAY ROBBERY IN THE TIME OF VENKATA II.

“ My grandfather having stayed for sometime longer at Vijayanagara accompanied that Venkātācāryulu to Penugonda, where he went to perform a *śrāddha*. He paid him 4 *varāhas* and obtained the copper-plate charter. While he was passing alone, on his return journey, through the Kadireppa-Nāyani Pass, he was attacked by a highway-man who struck him (with a sword) on the crown of his head, and relieved him of the money which was about his person. While he was attempting to wrest from him the copper-plate charter, my grandfather who recovered his consciousness in the interval threw him down, and struck him dead with sharp stones. Dāmanaceru Rāmisetti, who was returning from the Ghats with a train of bullocks laden with bags of areca nuts, came upon the scene and made enquiries of him. My grandfather explained to him how he had killed the robber who attacked him. The merchant who was very much struck by his bravery mounted him on one of the bullocks and carried him outside the pass where he had the wound sewn with silken thread and properly dressed. Then he took him to his village Dāmanacerla, and having nursed him back to health for three months, he sent him home with an escort.

Kaifiyat of Allidona: *Mac. MSS.* 15-3-57, pp. 34-5.

228(a). CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY DURING
THE REIGN OF VENKATA II.

During the reign of Venkatapati^{ra}ya at Candragiri, owing to the absence of efficient administration, much confusion prevailed in Pottapi-*nādu*, and this village was deserted. The Brahmans also abandoned it. The village had passed since into the hands of Matla Ellama Dēvacōda Mahārāja, as Venkatapati^{ra}ya granted to him Pulugula-*nādu* as his *amaram*. Having recruited troops Ellamarāja was engaged in wars with the *pālaigārs* and others in the neighbourhood of Siddhavatam, Pōrumāmilla, Baddevōlu and Udayagiri on behalf of the Rāya.

Kaifiyat of Vābanampalle: L. R. 17, pp. 132-33.

228(b).

This village was enjoyed as an *agrahāra* by Kandālla Appalācārya until S. S. 1520 Vilambi. Then the village fell into ruin as it was deserted by the people who fled to other places unable to endure the thieving activities of the *pālaigārs*. The Kandālla family was not able to restore its prosperity, by inducing the people to settle therein. The village of Tuvvaguntapalle then passed into the hands of Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyadū of Gāndikōta who treated it as a part of his own estate. The Kandālla family which had migrated to Awuku by this time, gave up all hopes of recovering the village, as an unnatural change had come over the conduct of the kings.

Kaifiyat of Tuvvaguntapalle: L. R. 20, pp. 248-49.

228(c).

This *sīma* was devastated, as mentioned already, by the Muhammadans. Venkatapati^{de}va Mahārāya, the king of Penugonḍa, (with the object of restoring the prosperity) leased the land to the farmers, the terms of which were inscribed on both the sides of a stone:—

This stone inscription has been set up on Tuesday, Mārgaśīra, śu. 10, of the year Plava* by Timmanna, the

* S. S. 1523=Tues. Dec. 8, A.D. 1601.

seal-bearer of Nāgappa of the Small Treasury, who is the Superintendent of Venkaṭapatidēvarāya's treasury to enable the farmers of Indukūru to plough the uncultivated fields. They took the letter (of permission allowing them to plough the fields ?) from the year Jaya. From that year, for every *tūm* of land the *gutta* is 2 *rūkas*, the *kāvali* $\frac{1}{2}$ *rūka*; total $2\frac{1}{2}$ *rūkas*. These conditions must be observed for eight years.

[“This inscription does not mention the Śaka year. On comparing with the inscriptions of this king in other villages, this (cyclic year) is seen to correspond the Śaka year 1523”].

Kaifiyat of Indukūru : L. R. 10, pp. 163-4.

228(d).

The Brahmins enjoyed this village as a *sarvamānya agrahāra* even during the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya, king of Penugonḍa. Then, the owners of the *agrahāra* together with Bhandāram Nāgi Nāyadū... ...granted a *kaul* to the farmers, as shown by an epigraph the substance of which is given below :—

On S.S. 1531 Kīlaka, Āśvija, ba. 3, the *Vidvan-Mahājanas* resident in Uraṭūr and Nāgappa of the treasury granted this charter to the farmers of Uraṭūr fixing the rent (*gutta*) of the uncultivated fields. We agree to take (*gutta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *rūkas*, and *kāvali*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *rūka*) 2 *rūkas* per annum for eight years for every *tūm* of land that is ploughed. He who goes against this agreement fixing the rent of uncultivated land eats dog's flesh.

Kaifiyat of Uraṭūr : L. R. 10, pp. 185-86.

228(e).

According to some inscriptions, while Venkaṭapatirāya, king of Penugonḍa, was ruling the country, he granted charters (for the cultivation of land) to the farmers of some villages in Kāmalāpuram *tālūka*, thereby making the country populous. Timmanna of this Venkaṭapatirāya's treasury granted a charter to the farmers of Kondūru and this village, and set up an inscription which is lying broken on the ground.

on the east of the Madanagōpālasvāmi temple. The substance of this charter is given below :—

Bokkasam Timmanna, the brother-in-law of Cina Bhandāram Nāgappa, the Superintendent of (with titles) Venkaṭapati-rāya's treasury granted this charter, on Plava, Kārttika, śu 3, to the farmers and *karayams* of Kodūru and Peddanapādu for the cultivation of the fallow fields. From the year in which the fields are first ploughed, we agree to take the *gutta* for eight years (at the following rates) :—

Year.	Extent.	Nature of	
		land cultivated.	<i>Gutta.</i>
1st	1 <i>tūm</i>	<i>Cēnu</i>	?
„	„	<i>yerra-cēlu,</i> <i>cēlika-bidulu.</i>	2 <i>rūkas</i>
2nd	„	...	3 „
3rd	„	...	4 „
4th	„	...	5 „
5th	„	...	6 „

The *kāvali* (i.e., the watchman's fee) is charged at half (the usual) rate on the fallow fields for eight years, and on *cēlika-cēlu* for nine years, and on *yerra-cēlu* for six years..... The farmers must store up this produce in the granary (*kotāru*). He who violates this is an unprincipled fellow.

[“The Śaka year is not mentioned in this inscription. From our knowledge of this Venkaṭapati-rāya's inscriptions in other places, we find that this year (Plava) corresponds to Ś.S. 1523. This Venkaṭapati-rāya having granted the charter of cultivation, made the village populous. He also provided for conducting worship in the temples of the village. During the reign of this Rāya, Maṭla Kumāra Anantarāja was governing this tālūka.”]

Kaiśyat of Kēmmaddi : L. R. 10, pp. 145-6.

228(f).

SUMMARY.

Venkaṭapati-rāya of Penugonda granted this village for *nāyankara* to Jilēlla Cina Rangapatirāja. As the village was

in a ruinous condition, consequent on the depredations of the Muhammadans, Duggarāju Nārappa, the seal-bearer of Rāvila Raghunātha Nāyadū, granted a *kaul* to the farmers for the cultivation of unploughed fields, on the orders of Rangapatidēva Mahārāja on S.S. 1527, Viśvāvasu, Śrāvanya śu. 15.

As the land for the cultivation of which the *kaul* was granted belonged to the temple of God Cennarāya, the trustees of the temple had to join Duggarāju Nārappa in executing the deed.

The terms of the *kaul* are :—

- (1) The farmers had to pay for every *tūm* of land cultivated 2 *rūkas* of *gutta*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *rūka* of (*kāvali*)-*kāṇika* per year.
- (2) At the end of seven years, the *gutta* and (*kāvali*)-*kāṇika* should be paid according to the rates prevailing in adjacent lands.

Kaifiyat of Sambatūr : Mac. MSS. 15-3-57, pp. 15-17.

228(g).

SUMMARY.

Sadāśivarāya, Venkatapatiśirāya and others of the Rāya family ruled the state. Vengala Nāyadū, after being in service for 40 years and managing the *amāni* affairs of the Dūpādu *tāluka*, died. His son Venkatādri Nāyadū likewise served the *Rāya-samsthānam* for 50 to 60 years and died. His son Śāyappa Nāyadū was just born at this date, *i.e.*, Śaka 1470, Ānanda, and he was also known as Gangappa Nāyadū. By the year Citrabhānu corresponding to Śaka 1504, *i.e.*, when he was 27 years of age, the *Rāya-samsthānam* fell owing to the invasions of the *Turaka* rulers of Gōlkonda, Bijāpūr, Hamdānagar (Ahmadnagar) and Bidar *viz.*, Abdulla Kūtupu Shāh Pādshāh, Muhammad Adalī Pādshāh, Nizām Shāh Pādshāh of Hamdānagaram, Imām Shāh Pādshāh of Nāgapuram, who occupied the Vijayanagara and Penukonda *rāyyas*. During the administration of these Muhammadans, the *Bōya* tribes,

the Kollivāru and the Jallivāru, caused great trouble in the Śrīsaila region so that the country fell into a state of anarchy. The people in this region were stricken with fear. About this time, a certain Niyōgi Brahman of the name of Gōpāluni Rāmappayya who was in the service of the Kollivāru, developed friendly relations with this Śāyappa Nāyadu. When the Kollivāru came to know of this, they resented his friendship with Śāyappa Nāyadu and chastised him and kept him under custody. But Rāmappayya managed to escape from their hands and sought refuge under Śāyappa Nāyadu. After the lapse of some time, Rāmappayya submitted to his benefactor that instead of wasting his time, he would proceed to the court of the Sultān Abdulla Kutupu Shāh of Gōlkonda and represent to him his (*i.e.*, Śāyappa Nāyadu's) case and obtain for him extensive *jāgīrs*. Śāyappa Nāyadu paid him for his passage. Reaching Gōlkonda, Rāmappayya stayed there for five to six months, during which period, he became acquainted with such great officials as *amildārs*, *hummarāvs* (*umrās*) and *divāns* and conducted himself in such a manner as to obtain their favour. On one occasion, when the Pādshāh, on coming to know of the depredations of the *Bōya* tribes, the Kollivāru and the Jallivāru, wanted to entrust the task of subduing those *Bōyas* to a proper man; Rāmappayya submitted to the Pādshāh that the Kamma, Śāyappa Nāyadu, who belonged to a family of able warriors under the Rāyas, might be entrusted with the task. The Pādshāh passed orders accordingly and sent Rāmappayya with a body of troops to aid Śāyappa Nāyadu in the destruction of the *Bōyas*. Rāmappayya returned to his benefactor with the body of troops and the Pādshāh's *parvānā* entrusting the task of subjugating the *Bōyas* to Śāyappa Nāyadu. Acting in accordance with the orders, Śāyappa Nāyadu, ably aided by Rāmappayya, completely brought the *Bōyas* under subjection in the course of one or two campaigns and placed his garrisons in the *Bōya* cities. Accompanied by Manne Pallayya of Rāvūru, a *rājabandhu* (a relation of the chief) and the Velama Pāpā Nāyadu of Korlukunṭa, Śāyappa Nāyadu proceeded to the

court of the Pādshāh at Nislahar (Naushahar, ? new city), where he presented himself before the Pādshāh, who, complimenting him on his success, granted him the *tālukas* of Ātmakūru, Śiddhāpuram, Dūpādu and Kambham as *jāgīr* and the right to collect *manne-kāvali-rusum* at the rate of 2 *varāhas* per 100 *varāhas* of tax (*sistu*) payable by each village in the Dēsa (?) and other small dues (?) ; Manne Pallayya and Pāpā Nāyadu were given a few villages and ordered to serve their master, Śāyappa Nāyadu, faithfully.

Although a large part of the country was under Muhammadan rule, Venkatādēvarāyalu of the family of Āravīṭi Tirumaladēvarāyalu, who was related to the family of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, was administering certain portions of the country. There is an inscription on a stone in front of the Cennakēśava temple built by Śāyapa Nāyani Venkatādri.

Language : Sanskrit in Telugu—verse and prose.

Date : Śaka 1536, Ānanda (*Rasa-rāma-bāṇa-śaśi*), Āśādha, *Sitapakṣa* (bright half), *Viṣṇu divase* i.e. Ekādaśi, Thursday (Thursday, the 7th July, A.D. 1614).

King : Venkatādēvarāya, ruling at Ghanagiri.

Donor : Gangapa Nāyaka, of the Mādāla-*gōtra*, son of Venkatādri, ruler of Śrīgiri-*maṇḍala* and grandson of Śāyappa Nāyadu.

Donee : God Cennakēśava.

Gift : Villages of Gurrapusāla, Cennarāyanipalle, Gārla-dinne and Kātārivānipalle for providing daily worship and repairs.

Remarks : The villages granted are stated to be in the fertile Dūpādu-*sīma* lying east of the Śrīsaila, which was acquired and ruled by the donor's ancestors by their valour (*madvamśa-dhātu vaibhava santata paripālita*).

After this, the Muhammadans came from the north in great strength and annexed some of the *rājyas* that were administered from Ānegondi. These *tālukas* were placed in the charge of Sāyapa Nāyani Venegalappa Nāyaningāru,* who looked after the affairs of the *sīma* for some time, when the *Bōyas* who were in his service, rebelled and took possession of the entire *rājyam*. Being unable to quell them, he left the Duvvapāti-*sīma* and proceeded to the Pādusāh at Gōlkonda whom he asked for a body of troops in order to enable him to regain his estate from the *Kirāta-Bōyas*. He promised to the Pādusāh that, in return for the help, he would pay the *pēshkist* due to the Pādusāh and a *najaru* (present) of a lakh of *varāhas*. Accordingly, a large force was placed at his disposal, with which he marched on the *Bōyas* and destroyed them. He conquered the *sīmas* of Duvvapādu, Kōta, Podile and Baddevōlu and ruled them fixing his headquarters at Daddanāla which he built at a spot 10 *kōs* west of Duvvapādu and 12 *kōs* east of the Śrīsailam.

Kaiṣyat of Duvvapādu : *Mac. MSS. 15-3-13, Section 6, pp. 11-22.*

229. ŚRIRANGA III AND RĀYAPRABHU OF PUDUKŌTA.

On one occasion, one of the elephants of Śrīrangarāya which was in rut escaped from custody, and caused much damage. No one dared even to approach the animal. However, Rāyaprabhu, one of the Tonḍamān chiefs, captured the animal and handed it over to Śrīrangarāya. The Rāya conferred on Rāyaprabhu many titles and presents as a mark of his appreciation of the latter's bravery.

Tonḍamān Vāṁśavāli : *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. 2, pp. 306-7.

230(a). ANARCHY AFTER THE DEATH OF VENKATĀPATIRĀYA.

After the close of the reign of Vīra Venkatāpatirāya Mahārāya, the country was plunged in anarchy for four or

* Cf. 15-3-14 *Kaiṣyat of Sāyapanāyani family of Miriamalle, Dūpādu tāluka.*

five years. As the people were not able to endure the tyranny of the *pālaigārs* and thieves, they abandoned their homes. Both Dēvigudi and Dānavulapādu were completely ruined.

Kaifiyat of Jambulamadugu : L. R. 1, p. 227.

230(b).

As the efficiency of administration decreased after (the death of Venkaṭapatidēva Mahārāya), the *pālaigārs* who were in the neighbourhood of this village, having gathered strength, harassed the villagers by demanding money. The *karanams* made the chief farmer the *reddi*. The *karanam* and the *reddi* having collected the requisite sum from the holders of *mānya* lands, paid them.

Kaifiyat of Vellāla : L. R. 55 p. 117.

231. YĀCAMA AND JAGGARĀJA.

SUMMARY.

Yācama kicked upon the chest of the traitors who were treacherous to the throne of the Rāya; pulled out the tongues of the crafty people who plotted in secret, and defeated the obstinate *mānnes* who are frightened by the sight of armies engaged in a fight (1). On account of the victory which Yācama, who had stood firmly in Karnāṭaka, won over the enemies of the Rāya, the community of the *Padmanāyakas* prospered; the family of the Rēcerla chiefs to which he belonged acquired great fame; the descendants of Sarvajña Singa maintained their honour; and the Velamas flourished having got rid of all their sorrows (2). On the day when Gobbūri Jaggarāja having made the *Daļavāy* mad(?), seized his office; when he, having gathered his friends, murdered Īṭe Ōbulēśa in the fort of Vēlūr; when he forcibly took possession of the well-filled treasury of the Rāya; and when he massacred without abhorrence the Rāya with his sons, wives and friends, he might have considered himself dead; but he was able to keep himself alive for two more years, as he sought safety in flight (3). When Yācama charged the (enemy's) army at Tōpūr, Jaggarāja, having met death at his hands got rid of the reproachful name 'sinner'. Virappa, being defeated, shut himself in the fort of Cirutanāpalli, and dared not open

even the postern on the east ; Kṛṣṇappa of Ceñji who concealed his dear self within the fort, did not venture to show himself out ; on the death of all his trusted nobles, the one who was defeated was caught in a cage. The Śākamūrus, the Rāvelas, and the Mākarājus became wild animals in frenzy by terror (4).

Kṛṣṇappa Nēdu said : " Oh ! Virappa, the battle has failed; Jaggarāja, among the Kṣatriyas fell in the front of the battle-field ; make haste, we must reach Cirutanāpalli ; Mākarāju has already dashed away upon his horse. We do not know how to mount an elephant ; and (if we remain) death is certain to overtake us outside the camp. Rāvela Venkana has begun to flee. One fled at first, and another followed him." Virappa who listened to these words of his friend, stole away from the field at the sight of Yācama's forces (5). Cina Rautu, Tippa Rautu, Tātāpasetṭi and Gattī Mudali sought safety in flight one after another (6). Is it possible for one crore of Gobbūri Jaggarājas, seventy crores of Mākarāja's fathers, and one lakh and sixteen Rāvela Venkas to oppose Yācama ? Can goats make a stand against a fierce tiger ? (7) Oh ! Mākarāja, you can't stand proudly in the battle-field. Abandon your improper pride ; Oh ! Rāvela Venkaṭādri, this hostility with Yāca is not worthy of you ; Oh ! Jaggarāja, can a weakling attack a fierce tiger bravely ? (8) Thirty-thousand heroic warriors under Dāvāla Pāpa advanced with much foolhardiness on you ; but Oh ! Yāca son of Ranga, you opposed them only with two thousand troops. There is none among the *mannes* who is your peer. (9). Yācama has taken a vow to place the crown of royalty on the head of Rāmarāja. Even the Three *Dunēdārs* dare not face him. Can Etirāja oppose him ? Therefore, having opposed him, Etirāja was obliged to take to his heels. (10). When the multitude of chiefs headed by Jaggarāja, being unable to face Rangāya Yāca in battle, took to flight, Karmili was alarmed, Satyavīdu trembled, Ceñji fell to pieces ; the frontier forts shook ; and in the countries up to Madura panic prevailed (11).

232. THE HISTORY OF YĀCAMA NĀYAKA.

[Verses composed by Pasumarti Kōdanḍapati at the instance of Kumāra Yācama, son of Yācama Nāyaḍu.]

When Dāvāla Pāpa heard of the high-handed action (of Yāca) in seizing the fort of Uttaramallūr, he marched against him at the head of an army of 40,000 foot, some horses and elephants, accompanied by Dāmera Kari Cenna and his forces. Yāca excited the admiration of Vīra Venkatarāya by offering them battle with an army of only 300 *kaijītam* and 4,000 other troops in which he killed Pāpa and took Cenna prisoner (1).

Is it possible to estimate the greatness of Yāca? He performed the coronation of Rāmadēvarāya. Having shone by the support of his relations and friends, he quickly defeated Mākarāju and killed Jagga of Cengādu; he captured all the lands and forts administered by the members of the Gobbūri family; vanquished the army of Kṛṣṇappa of Ceñji in battle and took him prisoner; he put Etirāja to flight near Pālemkōṭa, and slew several other enemies. Yāca made the country extending between the Kṛṣṇā and the Kāvēri to the east of Vēlūr, the land of the Velamas (2).

Being served by the army of the *kāryakartas* of Rāmarāya and Raghunātha Nāyaka; the entire retinue of his brothers Singa, Rāyapa, and Ayyapa Nāyaka; the troops of his relations like Dāmera Kari Cenna and Cēruku Vengaḷa; and the forces of friends like the faithful Kētireḍḍi, Raghunātha and Pāvāda Kṛṣṇa, Yācama slew Gobbūri Jagga in a battle at Kokkarasupēṭa and put to flight the kings of Madura and Ceñji and other noblemen.

Mac. MSS. 15-4-3, pp. 157 ff.

233. KUMĀRA RANGAPPA, SON OF YĀCAMA.

Kumāra Rangappa, the eldest son of Yācama, won a victory in battle over Ceñji Mādhava, Ceñji Kṛṣṇayya and Madhura Virappa.

234. VICTORIES OF MATLA TIRUVENGALANĀTHA.

SUMMARY.

Hāṇdeya Dēmappa who was defeated by Matla Tiruvengalanātha in the battle of Narasāpura took refuge in the jungles (1). Similarly, the enemies who sustained a defeat at his hands at the time of the capture of Pōrumāmilla sought shelter in woods and forests (2). Tiruvengalānātha fought fiercely in the battle of Kāmalāpura; caused panic in Gaṇḍikōṭa; chastised the forces of the ruler of Uddagiri (Udayagiri); and led an expedition against Gurramkonda and captured the fort of Kanjikonda (3). He put to death several cavaliers who participated in the battle of the Bāhudā; and captured the forts of Pōrumāmilla and Nṛsimhapattāna which were protected by (?) the ruler of the fort of Uddagiri (Udayagiri) (4). He led his forces against Kandanavōlu and Gaṇḍikōṭa and put to death the warriors of Mācanōlu (5).

Kumudvatikalyāṇam, Cantos, i, ii, and iii.

235. WAR BETWEEN MATLA AND VELUGÖTI CHIEFS.

The Matla chiefs erected a fort at the village of Vōgūr during the days of Ellamarāja. Matla Tiruvengalānātha, a *jñāti* of Anantaraṇa, was appointed as the commandant of the garrison which was posted to protect this fort. At this time, Rāmarāja of the Gobbūri family was holding sway over the forts of Kullūru and Podalakūru included in the *sīma* of Nellore. As Yācama, the chief of Venkatagiri, having encroached upon the estate of Rāmarāja, occupied the said forts, Matla Tiruvengalānātha offered him some help. Consequently Tiruvengalānātha incurred the displeasure of the Velugōti family.

While Matla Ananta was ruling at Siddhavatām, a Velama nobleman named Pāpayya who was a dependent of the Velugōti family attacked the fort of Vōgūr at the head of a small force. Basavana Bōya, a servant of Anantaraṇa, was in charge of a battery of *jajāys* in the Jibi tower of the fort. Having loaded a double barelled *jajāy*, he waited until the Velugōti forces approached the fort; he took aim and fired at the commander who was riding in a howdah on the back of an elephant. The *sardār* fell dead, and his forces losing courage fled.

A *Bhaṭ* who witnessed the fight rushed to the court of Matla Ananta, and announced to him the news of victory in a verse :

“ Oh ! Matla Ananta, the victorious in battle, Oh ! Prince of cultured men, you who have mounted upon the bullock (*basava*), Basavana Bōya, are indeed, Śiva ; and the Velamas have all become grass (to be grazed by your mount) ”.

Ananta who was pleased with the *Bhaṭ*’s eulogy gave him some present.

The Velugōṭi chiefs, however, returned, with another army, and surrounded the fort of Vōgūr. Matla Tiruvengala-nātha fled from the fort under the cover of night. The forces of the enemy fired their guns on the fort next day ; but receiving no response they entered it and razed it to the ground.

Kaifiyat of Pattapurāvi : L. R. 5, pp. 15-16.

236. MATLA KUMĀRA ANANTA.

SUMMARY.

Whenever Kumāra Ananta set out on an expedition of conquest, the shepherds and merchants begged him to excuse them because the former could not afford to pay him grazing tax and the latter the tax on salt.

Kumudvatkalyāṇam, Canto 1.

237. RĀMADĒVARĀYA : LAST DAYS OF MATLA CHIEFS.

SUMMARY.

Then, in Ś. S. 1541 Siddhārthi, three Muhammadan officers of Yadal Khān Bādshāh called Abdul Hussain, Abdul Muhammad and Abdul Wāhab, came with an army and laid siege to the fort of Kandanūr (Kandanavōlu). Gōpālarāja, the ruler of the fort, appealed to Matla Tiruvengalanātha for help. As it was considered the duty of a king to go to the rescue of others seeking his help, Tiruvengalanātha reposed the burden of the kingdom on the shoulders of his son, Kumāra Anantāraja, and having marched with his army to Kandanavōlu, made himself ready for offering battle to the

Muhammadans that were encamped there. A *sardār* of the name of Dharmārāvu, and the Hande chief, joined him; and they commenced to fight with the Mussalmans; but after a fight lasting for ten days, both Dharmārāvu and the Hande chief, unable to offer resistance, fled.

Tiruvengalanātha treated these chiefs with scorn; and having summoned his younger brother Timmarāja, his relations and servants one after another to his presence, he said: "My ancestors of any generation did not show their back to the enemy, as a consequence of a defeat sustained in the battle. Our bodies and things (around us) are transient in character; only truth, prowess and fame remain permanent. It is not proper that a *kṣatriya* or a knight should flee before an enemy. A suitable occasion has come for the fulfilment of the promise I made to Gōpālarāja formerly. The ancient kings who helped others patiently acquired honour and permanent fame. In former times, Vikramārka, having been slain in battle by Śālivāhana, won the applause of the world. Though Rāmarājayya was a crowned monarch, he faced, keeping in view the conduct proper to a *kṣatriya*, the Three *Dunēdārs* on the battle-field, and fought without turning his back and won glory by meeting his death in battle. It is nothing but dishonour for a *kṣatriya* to turn his back upon the enemy. To seek to live for the sake of dear life is utterly unworthy of a *kṣatriya*."

With all the people that were worthy to accompany him on such an occasion, Tiruvengalanātha marched, frequently uttering the name of Viṣṇu, upon the Muhammadan army and offered battle. Having put many enemies to death both Tiruvengalanātha Dēvacōda Mahārāja and his younger brother Timmarāja met death at the hands of the foes and departed to the heaven of the heroes on Siddhārthi, Māgha, ba. 11.*

* * *

* March 4, A.D. 1620. All the events mentioned above are described in detail by the *Bhāṣas* who are said to have been eye-witnesses. The *śāsamālīka* describing the incidents is not translated, as the above passages fairly summarise its contents.

Kumāra Anantarāju who succeeded his father ruled his ancestral estate with great glory. He had, however, to face a serious rebellion fomented by the *pālaigārs* in which his younger brother Ellamarāja was involved. The *pālaigārs*, having joined together were collecting forces at Kalukaṭa, Gundlūru, Vēmupalli, Animela, Pālagiri, Tamgēḍupalli, Cappalli, Pigilēru, Kumāllakālva and Setṭipalle with the object of overthrowing the authority of Kumāra Ananta, and spreading anarchy in the land. Having come to know the motive of the rebels, Kumāra Ananta imprisoned his brother in the fort of Siddhavaṭam, and marched upon the enemy at the head of an army. He defeated the rebels in a series of engagements, and led his army as far as Udayagiri. After suppressing the rebellion thoroughly, he returned to his capital and busied himself in peaceful avocations.

A number of verses composed by the *Bhāṭs* of his court describe in eulogistic language his achievements. He is said to have built *gōpuras* at Venkatācala, and having established the Rāya upon his throne, won the applause of the nobles, *māṇes*, and the heroes of other countries. He won victories over the *pālaigārs* at Kalukaṭa, Gundlūru, Vēmupalli, Animela, Pālagiri, Cappalli, Tamgēḍupalli, Pigilēru, Kumāllakālva, Mādhavara and Setṭipalle. He accepted the apology of his brother Ellamarāja, and set him at liberty ; moreover, he granted to him Mailupalle, Pondalūru, Gundlūru, Pōrempādu and Rāyavaram as *amaram*.

After a rule of twelve years Kumāra Anantarāju departed to the world of the gods.

Kaiṣyat of Cittivelli : L. R. 22, pp. 212-23.

238(a). THE FALL OF KANDANAVŌLU.

Abdul Mahammad and Abdulla Wāhab, two officers of the king of Bijāpūr, came with an army, and laid siege to the fort of Kandanavōlu on S. S. 1541, Siddhārthi, Phālguna ba. 5.* Gōpālarāju fled from the fort. The siege of the fort lasted until Dundubhi as it was defended by the troops of Gōpālarāju.

Matla Tiruvengalanātha Dēvacōda Mahārāja who marched to the rescue of Gōpālarāju died in the fight, when the fort fell. Then, the fort passed into the hands of the Muhammadans, and the country was ruined to some extent. The fort was vacant until the month of Mārgaśira of the year Raktākṣi corresponding to S. S. 1546.* The territory which was dependent on the fort also came into the possession of the Muhammadans who allowed some villages to be held under *amaram* tenure.

Kaifiyat of Kandanaavōlu : L. R. 16, p. 501.

238(v). MATLA TIRUVENGALANĀTHA AND THE ĀDIL KHĀN

SUMMARY.

The Muslim warriors in the service of the Ādil Khān who were killed by Matla Tiruvengalanātha went to the *svarga* of Indra and harassed the *apsaras*.

Kumudvatikalyāṇam, Canto 1.

239. THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST OF KURNOOL.

SUMMARY.

After (the death of Venkaṭarāju), the son of his elder brother,† Gōpālarāju governed the Kandanaavōlu *sīma*. Abdul Wāhab Khān, one of the officers of Bijāpūr, laid siege to Kandanaavōlu in S. S. 1570‡ and captured it, when the *agrahāra* of Nyāyakallu was confiscated by the government.

Kaifiyat of Nyāyakallu : L. R. 40, p. 321.

240. VENKĀTA III AND PENUGONDA.

Kaḍitam, p. 1.

The āyakaṭ of the territories of Rājarāja Śri Rāya-dalaśāyi who ruled the forts of Penugonda, Kundurpi, Rāyadurgam..... great prosperity !

p. 2.

A description of the way in which Venkaṭapatiṛāya of Rāya-Vēlūru granted the government of Penugonda to the

* Nov. 1624 A.D.

† Gōpālarāju was not Venkaṭarāju's nephew but his younger brother.

‡ In several records, Kurnool is said to have been captured by Abdul Wāhab Khān in S. S. 1541 Siddhārthi.

Rāya-dalavāyi Pedakōnēti Nāyadū. On Śrāvāṇa ba. 10 of Yuva of 146 years ago corresponding to Ś. S. 1558, (the Rāya) granted the government of Penugonḍa to Kōnēti Nāyadū, the son of Kastūri Nāyadū, the son of Akkapa Nāyadū, who was the son of Canca(ma) Nāyadū of Candragiri, a member of the Vāsarāśi family of the Balija caste. Having conferred upon him the office of the *Rāya-dalavāyi*, the Rāya celebrated his marriage with Sava-ma,

p. 3.

invested him with the sword of his office, and gave him presents, four jewels, and the privilege of styling himself Śrīman Mahārājarājaśri (in his letters and other documents). 146 years passed up to this Śubhakṛt.* The Rāya presented to Peda Kōnēti Nāyadū the following gifts :—

* * * * *

p. 5.

R. R. Peda Kōnēti Nāyadū ruled at Penugonḍa for 13 years and 3 months, i.e., from Śrāvāṇa, śu. 10 of Yuva to the Mārgaśira of the year Nandana †. Then Khān Khāna, the *vazīr* of Bijāpūr (Sultān) laid siege to Penugonḍa on Nandana, Mārgaśira, ba. 15 (?). He left it after one year in the Mārgaśira of the year Vijaya.‡ The total duration (of Kōnēti Nāyadū's rule is 14 years and 3 (months).§ (The revenue yielded) by the Penugonḍa-rājya is *ga* 2,50,000; he obtained in exchange (for it) the Kundurpi-rājya. (The Khān Khāna) handed over to R. R. Peda Kōnēti Nāyadū five forts which he had secured from the people of Ellappa Nayani Kottakōṭa. The Khān Khāna granted a *farvāna* agreeing not to demand

* This corresponds to Ś. S. 1704 Śubhakṛt (A.D. 1782), when this account appears to have been prepared.

† He seems to have ruled from July A.D., 1635 to Dec. 1652. Then his rule must have lasted for 17 years and 4 months, and not 13 years and 3 months.

‡ The siege commenced on Dec. 20, A.D., 1652. It came to an end in Nov.-Dec. of 1653 A.D.

§ The correct figures are 18 years and 4 months.

tribute from this estate of *ga* 60,000 from the beginning of Mārgaśira of the year Vijaya.*

Rāyadurga-araśara Vaṁśāvali (Kaditam) : Mac. MSS. 15-3-66.

241. THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST OF CITTIVĒLI.

Anantarāja Dēvacōda Mahārāja, the adopted son of Kumāra Ananta, was installed upon the throne. As the Muhammadans who became very powerful by this time began gradually to encroach on their country, the Matla chiefs lost their hold upon Pōrumāmillā, Baddevōlu, Duvvūru Cennūru and Kāmalāpuram. Anantarāja, who had given up hopes of ever recovering this territory was carrying on the administration of the *sīmas* of Pulugula-*nādu*, Pottapi-*nādu* and Siddhavatam,.....for a period of twelve years with the help of his uncle, Ellamarāja.

Abdulla Kutubu Śāha of Gōlkōnda who was the Pādusāh of the Deccan at that time, having understood that the kings of Karnāṭaka who were the masters of the Narapati throne lost all their vigour subsequent to the death of Vīra Venkaṭapati-dēva Mahārāya, and that the country belonging to the army of the Rāya (*Rāyarāṇuva*) was plunged in confusion and disorder owing to the predominance of the *pālaigārs* who began to rule their respective principalities in utter disregard of the central government, despatched an army to subdue all the land and hill-forts in Karnāṭaka and establish his garrisons therein. Nawāb Mir Jumla Sayyid Muhammad assumed the command of this army to execute the orders of the Pādusāh. Having entered Karnāṭaka with his army, he sent two Muhammadan officers and a Brahman, Bakṣi Triambaka Rāvu, with some forces to effect the conquest of the country from the side of Siddhavatam and attach the conquered territory. These two officers marched with their forces and camped near Siddhavatam. Matla Anantarājaya Dēvacōda Mahārāja marched with all his army, accompanied by his uncle Ellamarāja in S.S. 1571 Vikṛti, and having engaged them in a battle cut off their

* Nov. 1653.

+ A.D. 1649-50.

heads. Bakṣi Triambaka Rāvū fled with the survivors to Nawāb Mīr Jumla Sayyid Muhammad. Then Maṭla Anantārājayya reflected thus: "We cut off the heads of the *sardārs* who belong to the rank of *subēdārs*. The invader is a powerful man. To oppose and fight against the army of the Nawāb, we have no strength. If we remain in our own place, with the inmates of the zenana until the arrival of Nawāb Mīr Jumla himself, our honour cannot be preserved. It is, therefore, proper that we should flee from this place. If we are destined to rule again, we shall do so, in course of time, by the help of the Providence."

Then he consulted with the most important men (around) him, and migrated to Ikkēri-Basavāpuram in the western country, accompanied by the women of his zenana and his principal relations.

Nawāb Mīr Jumla Sayyid Muhammad then marched with his army to Siddhavatām, where he posted a garrison and entrusted the territory which had hitherto acknowledged the sway of the Maṭla chiefs to Triambaka Sankaraji Pant.

Kaiṣiyat of Cittivili : L. R. 22, pp. 223-25.

242. VELUGÖTİ SINGA, SON OF VENKATÄDRI.

(CONTEMPORARY OF ŚRIRANGA III.)

SUMMARY.

The brave Velugötī Singa, son of Venkatādhipa, at the behest of Āravīti Śrīmangarāya, completely defeated the Gōlkondā army sent by the Malaka at the battle of Venganti-*ceruvu*, driving his elephant on the forces of the enemy unmindful of their sharp arrows, bullets, lances and swords and cavalry (1). He massacred the *sīledārs*, the *vajris*, the *dunēdārs*, the *khājis*, the *khāns*, the *sardārs* and the *sayyids* (2), thus recalling to memory Lord Siva, the destroyer of Dakṣa and of the three cities; Rāma the slayer of Rāvāṇa; and Bhimasēna, the vanquisher of the Kaurava forces (3).

243. ŚRĪRANGA III.

SUMMARY.

A *kṣatriya* called Śrīranga* who was a descendant of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the emperor of Karnāṭaka, having lost his kingdom migrated from Candragiri to Ummattūr where he was allowed to live by the government of Mysore.....As he offered to pay double the salary which men at arms obtained in those days, most of the retainers of the neighbouring *pālaigārs* flocked to his standard, and very soon he became the master of 50,000 horse and 1,00,000 foot, with which he resolved to subdue the eighty-four *pālaigārs* and establish his supremacy over them. At first he attacked Śyāmarāja Vodeyār, the *pālaigār* of Mysore, and having inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, Śrīranga not only wrested from him half his territory but forced him to acknowledge his supremacy. Most of the other *pālaigārs* who were overawed by his victory over Śyāmarāja Vodeyār, submitted to him by agreeing to pay him tribute. A few who still held out were subdued by force.

* * * * *

While Śrīrangarāja was returning to Śrīrangapattanam accompanied by some of the 84 *pālaigārs* whom he had subdued, he fell ill on the way and died soon after he reached the town. A woman, whom he was keeping as his mistress, attempted to secure the power, but her efforts were not successful, owing to the intrigues of Śyāmarāja Vodeyār, and his minister Kalave Doddayya with the *pālaigārs* of Māṇangi and Talekādu.....The mistress of Śrīrangarāja who was infuriated by her failure, pronounced a curse on each of her enemies ; and then she put an end to her existence by immolating herself on the pyre of her dead husband.

Kaifiyat of Śrīrangapattanam : L. R. 22, pp. 381, 391 ff, 403.

244(a). THE MUHAMMADĀN CONQUEST OF
VIJAYANAGARA KINGDOM.

While Pemmasāni Cina Timmā Nāyadū was ruling at Gāndikōta, the Nawāb came from Gōlkonda in S. S. 1571

* Cf. M. A. R. 1930, No. 25, p. 163, Inscr. dated Mon. May 12, 1656 A. D.

Vikṛti, and captured it.* After subduing Gaṇḍikōṭa the Nawī conquered Gutti, Gurramkonḍa, Kāñcī, Vandavāsi, Cengalpattī Arikādu, Mylāpūru and Cennapattanām, so that the country up to the Eastern Sea came under the government of Gōlkonḍa. At the same time, Minu Khāna (Amīn Khān ?), a officer from Vijāpura (Bijāpūr) captured Penugonḍa, Vēlūri Ceñji, Āraṇi, Basuvāpattanām and other places.

Kaiyiat of Sugumāñcipalle: L. R. 35, pp. 171-172.

244(b).

While Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyaḍu was ruling, the Kutupi Sāha of Gōlkonḍa laid siege to the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa in the year Vikṛti and captured it.

Kavile of Tōḍīamaḍugu in the Jambūlāmaḍugu rālīka: Mac. MSS. 15-3-49, p. 196.

244(c).

Then in Fasli year 1030 as Rājā Varadappa Nāyaka had no son, his nephew Appā Nāyaka succeeded him. That ruler spent most of his time in the pleasures of the harem and left all the business of state in the hands of his minister. In Fasli 1039 Sikandar Shāh, the Pādshāh of Bijāpūr, and Tānā Shāh, the Pādshāh of Hyderābād, formed designs for capturing the throne of Ginjee; formerly, about Fasli 10..., Mahārāja Kṛṣṇadēvarāya detached Bommarāju from his ancient friendship for these two from the time of their predecessors, and gave him the forts of Sēttuppattī and Cengalpattī in the Karnāṭaka and treated him in a very friendly manner; but the Pādusāhs punished him severely for his treachery to his master. In the Karnāṭaka the Nāyak subordinates of the Mahārāja were ruling with the sword in Ginjee, Tanjore, Madura, Trichinopoly, and ruling independently. To conquer these rulers of the Karnāṭaka, the two Pādusāhs despatched a large army. The Pādusāh of Bijāpūr sent Nawāb Mīr Kamruddīn Khān, Kawāz Khān, Kayaruddhi Khān Ghōri, Ayāz Khān Ghōri, Sayyid Mustafā Khān Ghōri, Mahmūd Khān Kurāda, Sayyid Nasīr Ali Khān, Sayyid Hasan Khān, Savvid Hussain Khān

Sikandar Khān Lōdi, Sher Khān Lōdi, Ibrāhim Khān Lōdi with 50,000 cavalry ; and the Pādusāh of Gōlkōnda sent Abdulla Khān, Farīd Beg, Bāwā Sāheb..... with 50,000 cavalry. With this lakh of troops they occupied the Karṇāṭaka beginning from Sakēpalli (Sarvēpalli ?) in Nellore in the north, camping in Kāñcipuram, Vēlūr and other places, and offering battle and gaining victories against the Nāyak rulers of Vēlūr, Āraṇi and so on. Everything north of Sēttuppaṭṭu was annexed to the dominions of the Pādusāh of Hyderābād as his troops had overrun these lands and as such was the understanding between the two Pādusāhs. Abdulla Khān, the *fauzdār* of this province, lived in Vēlūr. There was another *fauzdār* at Kāñcipuram. The *amal* in the land was held by Farīd Beg Bāwā Sāheb who had the *killēdāri* (command of the forts) of Sēttuppaṭṭu and Cengalpaṭṭu and other forts. Through Akkanna and Mādavanna, the *diwāns* of the Pādusāh of Hyderābād, Podali Linganna, became *amaldār* of Kāñcipuram. All this was settled there. The army of the Bijāpūr Pādusāh with Mīr Kamruddīn Khān Nawāb and others invaded Ginjee. Appā Nāyaka, the Rāja of Ginjee, kept his courage and ordered his *pradhānis* to take all the protective steps necessary to oppose the enemy and drive him away ; he himself spent his time in the harem. The *pradhānis* posted all the princes, servants and soldiers in their respective posts on the walls, gates and redoubts of the fort, had the requisite ammunition carried to the proximity of the cannon, great and small, posted the artillery men and *sardārs* needed, and kept careful watch night and day. Meanwhile, Kamruddīn Khān and others encamped on the Kalavāy mound at a distance of two *nāligais* to the east of Ginjee, surrounded the fort with their troops, and fought for four months, while the besieged also made sallies from time to time against the enemy. But as the Pādusāh's forces had larger numbers, and as the Rāja's end was near, the army of the Pādusāh closed upon the ditch round the fort and approached the big Tipdivanam gate ; then the cannon on the fort and those on the walls, the large batteries and turrets were all fired simultaneously. The *pradhānis* sent

word through the servants to the Rāja that the position was becoming untenable. They returned saying that the Rāja was at his ablutions and that it was not possible to convey the news to him then. When, however, the *pradhānis* insisted, the Rāja was duly informed, and he came out with his broad sword. The princes, servants, minister and *pradhānis* with their followers, numbering ten thousand in all, came ready armed for battle. The Rāja then issued instructions to the chief officers that they should make their own arrangements for safeguarding the honour of their women-folk and himself came to the Tīndivanam gate, opened the door, and attacked the enemy force outside, beginning a fight with sword, dagger and spear. The fight at this gate between the troops of Nawāb Mīr Kamruddin Khān and others and those of Appā Nayaka, the Rāja of Ginjee, extended up to the Varāha-nadī and lasted for about three hours. It was a hard fight as in the Bhārata War. Then Kamruddin's men scaled the walls on the sides of the fort and beat the drum of victory. About 20,000 fell in the fight on the side of Rāja Appā Nayaka including *pradhāni* Nandagōpāla Pillai and several princes and officers. On Nawāb Kamruddin's side Sayyid Mustafā Khān Ghōri, Sayyid Hassan Khān, Sayyid Husain Khān, Ayāz Khān Ghōri and others fell, the total number dead being 30,000. From the gate to the Varāha-nadī it was one stream of blood flowing. About 500 of the chief women of the Rāja's household entered the fire. Nawāb Mīr Kamruddin Khān captured the fort of Ginjee in the Fasli year 1040 and kept a firm hold on it. He captured the treasures of the Rāja and his minister and other things of value. He sent a detailed report to the Pādusāh of Bijāpūr regarding the excellence of the service of the men of the Rāja of Ginjee, and the firm loyalty and efficiency of the shepherd *pradhāni* Nandagōpāla Pillai together with a plan of the battle and gave particulars of the treasury and so on. The Pādusāh read it all with wonder and sent that very plan to Dahan Shah (?) of Delhi. The gate where the fighting was fierce and many men were killed and much blood was spilt, was named

Rāya-māṇḍala-dār wāja; Ginjee was given the name Pādusāhbād. No one among the Rāja's people, male or female, escaped with life; the *pradhāni*'s men who were outside the fort were the sole survivors. Nawāb Mīr Kamruddīn Khān occupied the country to the south up to the Kollāḍam and posted *fauzdārs* at Vālikondai, Pālaiyamkōṭṭai, Valudāvūr, and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The territories occupied by the Hyderābād troops and ruled by the *fauzdārs* were also declared annexed to that state. The area so included in Hyderābād comprised Vandavāsi, Kāñcīpuram, Cengalepaṭṭu, Tiruppāsūr, Satyavēdu, Candragiri, Saruvāppalli, Vēlūru, Sāttukedai and Šekkudēvakedai. The territory taken by the Pādusāh of Bijāpūr included Ginjee-Pādusāhbād, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Valudāvūr, Pālaiyamkōṭṭai and Vālikondai. Thus these *sarkārs* and the eighty-four forts in them together comprising the Pāyin Ghāṭ Karnāṭaka were ruled by the two Pādusāhs. Nawāb Mīr Kamruddīn Khān appointed Anantārāyaṇa Pillai to the diwanship by negotiation through the *pradhānis* of the late king, because he desired to master the secrets of the Karnāṭaka (administration) by retaining men of experience. Then he sent Sher Khān Lōdi, Sikandar Khān Lōdi, and Ibrāhim Khān Lōdi at the head of 40,000 troops, infantry and horse to effect the conquest of the Rājas of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura. They invaded all these areas and invested the forts and fought battles. At first the *vakīl* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, the Rāja of Tanjore, offered money and made peace and reached a settlement regarding the future; Vijayarangappa Nāyaka of Trichinopoly was also inclined to make peace. But Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, who was in the position of suzerain over them, did not make peace; he strengthened his fortifications, and summoned to his aid the local Marava rājas of Rāmanāthapuram and Šivagangai and the *pālaigārs*, and arranged to hand over to the protection of the *kallars* the territories of Mēl-Tāmrarasa-nādu (?), Mēl-nādu, Kil-nādu, Vēlūr-nādu and Nālu-kōṭṭai-nādu; the *kallars* are known as the watchmen of the Madura kingdom. Fifty thousand of these *kallars* joined together to enter the Muslim camp at night, damage their

tents, capture their horses and carry off all they could lay hands on. Meanwhile, the Rāja of Madura came out with his troops; the feudatory rulers on one side and the *kallars* on the other attacked the Muslims and fought them; the Muslims resisted, but were forced to retreat, and their camp was looted by the *kallars*. Only a few on the Muslim side managed to escape and reach Ginjee. Sher Khān Lōdi, Sikandar Khān Lōdi and others fell in battle. Kamruddin Khān sent to the Pādusāh accounts of the war in Madura with plans and details regarding the *kallar*, seeing which the Pādusāh exclaimed: "God ! are the *kollar* for Ginjee and the *kallar* for Madura ?".

Karnāṭakārājākkalīn Vṛttāntam : Mac. MSS. 17-5-11.

245(a). THE ĀYAGĀRS.

There are twelve functionaries (or officers) for every village :—

1. Accountant.	7. Shoe-maker.
2. Headman.	8. Goldsmith.
3. Carpenter.	9. Watchman.
4. Washerman.	10. Waterman.
5. <i>Purōhit</i> .	11. Black-smith.
6. Barber.	12. Potter.

These are called the *āyagārs*.

In each village, the villagers offer to these officers as suited to their status two kinds of remuneration, *būyam* and *arthāyam* from the produce of their fields. That which is given to the Gods and the Brahmans is known as *devādāya* and *brahmādāya* respectively.

To the *āyagārs* two *muntas** of grain are measured out as *būyam* and two *muntas* as *arthāyam*† for each *kapile*, field or *khaṇḍuga* according to the usage of each *pargana*.

* *Munta* is a vessel of standard capacity commonly three seers for dealing out quantities of grain.

† *Būyam* (B. (h) u + ayam) means income from land; *arthāyam* means income in cash. Each villager had to pay the village officers a percentage of their income from either of these sources.

Moreover, all the ryots pay the taxes into the hands of the *gaud* (headman) and the *śānbhōg* (accountant). The *gaud* is obliged to have the village lands cultivated for the sum of money fixed by the government (as tax). He has to collect the taxes according to *musanija* (agreement?), pay it to the government in time, and settle the accounts once in a year at the *jamābandi*. Some fields of the village are cultivated with the knowledge of the government (and some without it). As the lands cultivated with the knowledge of the government are described in the duplicates of their registers, the income from the fields which are not mentioned therein benefit the village headman and the accountant, who appropriate it for themselves.

The *āyagārs* possess *mānyas*, on which all of them excepting the *purohita* have to pay *jōdi*. The *gaud* and *śānbhōg*, however, get other small perquisites, from the ryots, on account of the influence which they exercise in the village. It may however be asked why the ryots do not complain to the government against them. In the first place, they are swayed by considerations of loyalty to these officers under whose protection their ancestors had flourished for generations. Secondly, the ryots do not come into direct contact with the government; and lastly, they are afraid that these officers might submit false reports about the extent of the land cultivated by them. Owing to these considerations, the ryots always remain obedient to the *gaud* and the *śānbhōg*.

In addition to the *būyam*, the *arthāyam* and the *bhaṭavṛtti-mānya*, the *talāri* gets from the villagers every day thick porridge of ragi flour, curry and ears of corn, and from the Kurubas blankets; for they are afraid of him, as he, who is like the *kotwāl* to the village, may single them out at first, to carry the luggage.....of the government servants. He has to protect the village from dangers of all kinds and assist in the work of administration as occasion arises. If any theft is committed during the sojourn of aliens in the village, the *talāri* is held responsible. The *kāvalgārs* are held responsible (for

thefts committed) outside the villages. The *talāris* are generally drawn from the *Bōya* community in the Citragallu *sīma*, though people of other castes also hold the post of *talāri* outside.

The *purōhit* has to explain to the ryots the time when the sowing of the seed would yield abundant corn; he has also to tell them the work which they are expected to do in every season. He officiates at the marriages and other religious ceremonies that are performed in the houses of the farmers, and reads daily the calendar before the rich men of the village. Therefore, the ryots pay him *horehallu* and *morabhatta** in addition to his *āyam*.

The carpenter and the blacksmith attend to all artisan's work in the village, especially to the manufacture of ploughs and other agricultural implements, without demanding wages for their services. When they are engaged in the construction of the houses of the ryots, they obtain wages, but not otherwise. They have to manufacture as many ploughs as the government requires. Therefore, they are given *horehallu* and *morabhatta* in addition to their *āyam*.

The barber shaves the ryots and the washerman washes their cloths. They also get *horehallu* and *morabhatta*. Moreover, the washerman gets food from every household on the day when he washes cloths. He pays *rēvu-gutta* to the government.

The cobbler furnishes the ryots with ropes, buckets, sandals, etc., for which they pay him *horehallu* and *morabhatta*.

The *śānbhōg* has *āyam* because he keeps the village accounts. Moreover, he also enjoys the *mānya* which the villagers and the government have granted to him as remuneration for his services. He has, however, to pay *jōdi* on his *mānya* to the government.

* The meaning of *horehallu* is not clear; but Wilson mentions in his Glossary, *Horehallu* which he understands to be the name of a tax paid by the cultivators in kind, in lieu of straw, to the government. *Morabhatta* is said to mean 'established fees to village servants.'

Every village does not maintain a separate potter. One or two potters supply the pots necessary for the use of all the ryots of a *taraf* (district). However, the potter has an *āyam* in every village. He is also in the habit of selling pots in the bazaar for which he has to pay a tax called *cakrakāñike* to the government.

The goldsmith measures the cultivator's half-share of the produce. He also tests the soundness of the coins collected as taxes from the farmers.....For these services he is paid *horehallu* and *morabhatta*.

The waterman closes the sluices of the irrigation tanks by diving into the water. He lives in huts on the tank-bund during the rainy season to prevent it from breaching, and regulate the supply of water according to the requirements of the fields. He has also to account for the deficiency of the water in the tank; and if he fails to give a satisfactory explanation, he is removed from his office. He gets *horehallu* and *morabhatta* for his services.

These twelve *āyagārs* are attached to the village; and their offices are hereditary. They are called *āyagārs* in *Karṇāṭaka*; but in the Mughal accounts they are referred to as *bārābalarati*.

Attahavanavyavahāratantram: *Mac. MSS.* 15-6-8, Sec. 19, pp. 3-4.

245(b).

SUMMARY.

Mallubhatlu, the son of Cangoli Cennubhatlu granted a charter to the *Vidvan Mahājanas* of Allidona alias Abhinava-Dēvarāyapuram on Māgha, ba. 10, Kilaka, corresponding to S. S. 1411.*

A description of the Āyagārs:

1. *Purōhit* (the village priest).
2. *Lēkhaka* (the accountant, *karayam*).
3. *Dēvalakadvayam* (the *arcakas* of the Siva and the Viṣṇu shrines).

* Jan. 26, 1489 A. D.

4. *Ayakkārah* (black-smith).
5. *Vardhaki* (carpenter).
6. *Kṣuri* (barber).
7. *Rajakah* (washerman).
8. *Pādajah* (the protector of the village boundary i.e., the Reddi).
9. *Padavijñeyah* (the knower of the foot-prints, i.e., the *talāri*).
10. *Antyajāti-dvayam* (the two of the last caste, i.e., *vetti* and *dōhi*).

These are called the twelve *sīmāsthās* or *āyagārs*.

Kaifiyat of Kāmalāpuram: L. R. 1, pp. 78, 94-5.

246. CAUDĀRĀJU CENNAMARĀJU

vs.

DVĀRAKACERLA MALLAMRĀJU.

SUMMARY.

A certain Avubalarājayya sent Caudarāju Cennamarāju, the *karapam* of Pērūru and Mallamrāju, the *karapam* of Dvārakacerla, who were parties in a dispute, to the merchant guild of Sirivarla for settling their dispute. The merchant guild held a court in the *mukhamantapa* of the temple of Siddhēśvara of Sirivallu on śu. 11 of Māgha in the year Bahudhānya corresponding to S. S. 1430* and investigated the facts pertaining to the dispute. They conveyed the results of their investigation by means of a letter to Avubalarāju who sent the disputants before them.

The merchant guild held an enquiry, and sent the following report embodying their decision :—

We summoned Cennamarāju before us and asked him to state his case : Cennamarāju's statement : I was the *karapam* of Pērūru. During the regime of Narasā Nayaka, the enemies invaded the country, when our *sīmā* was devastated, and our village fell into ruin. I lived in the hills for a long time with

* The date is wrong. S. S. 1430 corresponds to Vihāsa and not to Dvārakacerla.

the object of returning to the village ; but order was not restored ; and to add to our distress a famine also occurred. Consequently I migrated with the inhabitants of the territory ten miles around my village to the Tamil districts, where I sojourned for three years. Having learnt from the people coming from my district that my village was once again inhabited, I returned. I found on my return that a few of the old people together with the immigrants from the east were cultivating the fields. There were also some *āyagārs*, the most important of whom was this Mallamrāju, the *karanam* of Dvārakacerla. He accompanied the immigrants thither, and having secured from them the *mānyas* and other fields, he was keeping the accounts of the village. Though I explained to him that the *karanikam* rights were my *kānayācci*, he showed no signs of yielding place. Therefore, I appealed to the authorities of Siruvolla *sthala* who sent me here for getting justice.

Mallamrāju's statement : I lived formerly at Dvārakacerla. Siruvolla *sīma* was in a ruinous condition. Pōlēpalle Bukkarāju leased the lands to farmers during his administration in order to restore its prosperity. Having accompanied the farmers who migrated from our district, I halted at Siruvolla for some time, when I was appointed the *karanam* of Pērūru which was then in a deserted condition. The old *karanam* of the village migrated to foreign lands. He has no claims on the *karanikam* rights.

Next we summoned Cennamarāju, and asked him to produce evidence in support of his contention. He mentioned the names of some old farmers and *āyagārs* who, he declared, would bear testimony in his favour. On putting a similar question to Mallamrāju he said that his possession of the *karanikam* rights at that time was the only proof that he could bring forward to maintain his position. On being asked whether the farmers and the *āyagārs* would assert on oath that Cennama had no claims on the *karanikam* rights of the village, he said that they would. Then we turned to Cennamarāju and asked him to produce his witnesses. On his naming nine

āyagārs of the village, Mallamraju specified the manner in which he wanted them to take the oath. Having taken the *tīrtha* of the gods Venkatesvara, Ahōbalesvara and Mallēsvara of Śrīsaila and holding the *prasāda* of the said deities in their hands, the witnesses should bathe in the tank attached to the temple of Siddhēśvara of Sirivarla, stand with wet garments in the centre of the *mukhamāṇḍapā*, and declare that the *kāṇayācci* of Pērūru belonged to Caudarāju Cennamarāju. If they took the oath in this form, then he said, he would admit that he was a *hīnavādi*. Cennamarāju made a similar declaration. As both the parties agreed to this oath, it was resolved that if the witnesses gave their testimony in favour of one of the parties, the *kāṇāka-kāṇayācci* belonged to him. In short, Mallamrāju was not successful, and as Cennamarāju's witnesses for twenty-one days supported his claim by their sworn testimony, the court comprising the members of the *sabhā* of Siruvolla, the *karāṇams* and the *settipekkaṇḍru*, adjudicated that the *kāṇayācci* was his and granted him the *jayatēkha*. The decision of the court was communicated to Avubalarāju by means of a letter.

From a Kaqita in the possession of Karanam Pēparāju of Pērūru:

L. R. 55, pp. 286-292.

24. MĀRUTALA UMMA-TĀTI REDDI vs. UNDAVĒLI ANKAYYA.

SUMMARY.

While Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, a *dharmāsana* was constituted by Alaji Pandita at Duvvūr *sthala*, on Sunday, ba. 14, Bhādrapada of Vibhava corresponding to S. S. 1490* to settle a dispute between Mārutala Umma-Tāti Reddi and Undavēli Ankayya regarding the possession of a *daśavandha mānya* included in Kāmanūr, a *sarvamānya agraḥāra* of Tāllapāka Tīrṭmalayya.

The *dharmāsana* assembled in the temple of Cennarāya. The Reddis and the *karāṇams* who constituted the *dharmāsana*

Mudireddi Lingayya, and *Karapam* Cennappa of Velupali ; Lingireddi and *Karapam* Basuvappa of Nēlatūru ; Tāti Reddi Vōbaya and Vellāla Nāgaya of Boggavaram ; Enumula Kondāreddi and Bhūmireddi Appalu of Tonḍaladinne ; Nakkaladinne Bōdireddi, Kāmanūru Basuvappa, Rūparāju Ellaya, Lingarāju Kondaya, Bhūmireddi Kondireddi Mudireddi, Lakimi Reddi Basuvayya, and *Karapam* Peddaya of Korrapādu ; Mallāreddi, Gānugala Nāgiseṭti and *Karapam* Venkataya of Duvvūr *sthala*.

An Inscription at Bukkāyapalli, a hamlet of Kāmanūr: L. R. 36, pp. 445-47.

248. THE CASE PERTAINING TO THE KARĀNIKA MIRĀŚI
OF HANUMANIGUNDAM AND PĒRUSOMALA (i).

SUMMARY.

Śivarāja who was the *karapam* of Hanumanigundam and Pērusomala had four sons, Lingarāju, Mallamrāju, Peda Timmarāju and Cinna Timmarāju. Peda Timmana predeceased his father. Of the remaining three Lingarāju had five sons Basuvaya, Lingaya, Kastūri, Yallaya, Venkaṭaya and Peddi Rāju. And Cinna Timmarāju had three sons, Mallamrāju, Venkaṭaya and Guḍdi Timmaya. As Mallamrāju (son of Śivarāju) had no children, his elder brother, Lingarāju, attempted to persuade him to adopt Basuvarāju, one of his own sons ; but Mallamrāju did not approve of his brother's proposal. Moreover, he requested, on his death-bed, his two brothers, to divide the *karapikam* rights of the two villages and other property evenly between them.

At the time of the division of the family property, Cinna Timmarāju demanded that each of them should get half of it. Lingarāju said that as his son Basuvayya was adopted by their deceased brother, Mallamrāju, the property should be divided into three equal shares, and that Cinna Timmarāju was entitled only to a third of it. On Cinna Timmarāju lodging a vigorous protest, Lingarāju did not press his claim ; but he duped his brother by sweet words, and sent him away to Hanumanigundam giving him the *karapikam* of that village with all the rights pertaining thereto.

Lingarāju grew old and decrepit. His five sons wanted to divide their patrimony. When it was suggested that it should be divided into five equal shares, Basuvayya claimed half of it, in virtue of his having been adopted by Mallamrāju. His brothers declined to admit his claim. They declared that there was no adoption at all; and what their father said about adoption was intended only to deceive Cinna Timmarāju. Thereupon Basuvarāju, who believed or pretended to believe that he was really adopted by his uncle, resolved to place the matter before a *dharmaśana* and repaired with this object to Kāvērisamudram accompanied by his brothers. The dispute that arose among the sons of Lingarāju, revived the hopes of their cousins, the sons of Cinna Timmarāju, to get their due share in the family property. One of them called Mallamrāju followed his cousins to Kāvērisamudram to find out how the judges would decide this dispute. Basuvarāju and his brothers assembled the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* and placed before them the facts concerning their case. Thereupon, the *Mahājanas* consulted *Vijñānēśvariyyam* and having obtained from the parties the necessary documents decided the case as follows: Basuvayya was not given in adoption, because the consent of Cinna Timmarāju and others was not obtained. Moreover, the *hōma*, which is necessary in all cases of adoption, was not at all performed. Therefore, the property must be equally divided among the five brothers.

Then the five brothers returned to their native village; but Cinna Timmayya's son, Mallamrāju, who remained behind lodged a formal protest with the *Mahājanas*. He said: "They overreached us by having recourse to this fraud. They now declare that there was no adoption: The judges of this *dharmaśana* should bear testimony to this fact." Then he cut a groove on the stone and declared: 'There was no adoption.' He returned to Hanumanigundam.

Basuvayya and his brothers, having reconsidered their position, in view of Mallamrāju's action at Kāvērisamudram, came to an agreement, according to which Basuvayya obtained

three-fourths, and his brothers the remaining fourth of the family property. When Mallamrāju came to Pērusōmala and demanded one half of the property, he was told that he was entitled only to one eighth of it, on account of Basuvayya's adoption. On Mallamrāju denying that there had been any adoption, he was asked to swear solemnly to that effect. Having consented to do so, he proceeded to the temple of Rāmēśvara at Tādpatri, and took a solemn oath in the presence of the deity for twenty-one days with wet garments on his body. He obtained a *jayapatrika* from the authorities of the temple. Notwithstanding all this trouble, Mallamrāju's cousins declined to accept his claim for half of their family property. Thereupon they repaired to Gandikōṭa to have their dispute settled, and stated their case before Nandyāla Nārasimharāju who was then governing that fort. Nārasimharāju summoned Telugucerla Gopālācārya and said: "These people have come seeking justice. Convene an assembly (of the learned) and settle their dispute first." Accordingly the ācārya summoned an assembly (*sabhā*), and having heard the arguments of both the parties, decided thus :

'Mallamrāju proved his case on the day when he successfully took the oath. There was no adoption. Therefore, one half of the property should go to Mallamrāju. Then they had the *jayalēkhas* written and handed over the *jayapatrikas* to Mallamrāju, who obtained the half share due to him from his cousins as soon as he returned to his village.'

From a Kavile in the possession of Karanam Šivarāju Venkaṭarāju of Hanumadgudam : L.R. 21, pp. 8-20.

The dispute described in the previous extract was not finally settled. As Lingarāju's grandsons declined to give half of the family estate to the grandsons of Cinna Timmarāju, as decided by the *dharmāsana* at Gandikōṭa, the latter were obliged once again to seek justice. Both the parties resolved to approach Ranganātha Nāyadū, the officer who was in charge of the administration of these villages; and having repaired to

Gāndikōṭa, where he resided, requested him to settle their dispute. He assembled the learned men and the *Mahājanas* resident in the place and commanded them to administer justice. The parties expressing their approval of the procedure adopted by the Nāyadu, the *dharmāsana* adjourned the case to the next day for enquiry.

That night the grandsons of Lingarāju attempted to win over Pōtladurti Narasimha Sōmayāji, one of the prominent *Mahājanas*, to their side by offering him a bribe of three *varāhas*; but their efforts were not successful, as he was resolved to pronounce judgment with due regard to the facts of the case. They, however, discovered a less scrupulous *Mahājana* in Rāvadi Nārāyaṇa Sōmayāji who was willing to accommodate them for the sake of the bribe. Having learnt that the party opposed to his friends had the *jayalēkha* and the *jayapatrika* of the Gāndikōṭa *dharmāsana* in their possession and that the Nāyadu was already aware of their contents, he advised them to protest against the commencement of the investigation at Gāndikōṭa on the plea that they would not get justice there. He also instructed them to go to Tippasamudram for justice, having at first secured a 'koradi' at Singanamala *sthala*. He promised to secure the permission of the Nāyadu for going thither. Then keeping his friends in concealment behind a screen, he summoned the grandsons of Cinna Timmarāju and induced them to read the documents in their possession. While they were engaged in reading the *jayalēkha* and *jayapatrika* their opponents quickly made copies of them. After dismissing the grandsons of Cinna Timmarāju from his presence, Nārāyaṇa Sōmayāji gave his clients a letter addressed to one of his relations at Tippasamudram together with some *kārikas*, and assured them that they would get a favourable decision.

The next day, Nārāyaṇa Sōmayāji told the chief that the parties would not obtain justice at Gāndikōṭa and requested him to send them to Singanamala whence they would go to Tippasamudram for justice, having secured a *koradi* in the

place. The chief having agreed to this proposal, the parties jointly paid a sum of 24 *varāhas* for obtaining the necessary letters from the court, and repaired to Singanamala. Having obtained a *koradi* from the people of that place, they finally departed to Tippasamudram to have their dispute settled. They waited in the village for two months, at the end of which the *Mahājanas* appointed a body of seven judges to try the case. One day the court assembled, and obtained *prajñāpatras* from both the parties. Then they desired to know who the complainants were. The grandsons of Cinna Timmarāju came forward and said that they demanded justice. Having sent their opponents outside, the court heard their statement, listened to the *jayalekha* and took the *pramāṇapatrika*. Next, they summoned the defendants, and asked them to represent their side of the case. At this juncture, Basuvayya, one of the defendants, called aside the son of Konḍubhaṭṭa, one of the judges, who was a relation of Nārāyana Sōmayāji, and delivered into his hands the letter and the *kārikas* which the Sōmayāji had given to him. On perusing the letter, Konḍubhaṭṭa's son instructed Basuvayya to place the copy of *jayalekha* with the *kārikas* before the court. He did as he was instructed to do.

The judges of the court perused the documents. They found themselves in a perplexing situation. They could not reject the *kārikas* as false; nor could they declare the *jayalekhas* and *pramāṇapatrikas* filed by the complainants as forgeries. While they were engaged in discussing the problem, the defendants having consulted one another, offered to pay them a bribe of 75 *varāhas*. As the judges agreed to accept the bribe, the defendants paid them 70 *varāhas* in cash and executed a promissory note for the balance. The court pronounced the judgment in favour of the defendants. Having secured a copy of the judgment and other letters, the defendants returned to Gaṇḍikōṭa where they read them before Ranganātha Nāyadū and got back the part of money which they paid for *Kattukamma* when they desired to go to Tippasamudram for justice.

250. CASE OF DUDYĀLA PEDDI BHĀTLU
MALLU BHĀTLU OF KARIVENA.

A dispute regarding the *upakṣayas* (casual expenses) arose between the *sabha* of Karivena *agrahāra* and Dudyāla Peddi Bhaṭlu, one of the shareholders. The parties went to Nandyāla for the settlement of the dispute. The details are as follows:—

In the year Viṭambi (S. S. 1520) when Venkaṭapatiṛāya was encamped before the fort of Nandyāla which he was besieging, Dudyāla Peddi Bhaṭlu Mallu Bhaṭlugarū through the good offices of the king's *sthānāpatis* Vōbularāju Narasimhaya and Menāji, despatched *mahaldārs* to the village of Karivena, and having summoned the *sabha*, and the *karanam*, Parvatarāju to the camp enquired why they refused to allow him to enjoy the *vṛttis* in the village which had been previously granted to him. The members of the *sabha* stated that as Peddi Bhaṭlu Mallu Bhaṭlu, had not paid his contributions and when asked to pay the amount had threatened violence (therefore, they had to forbid him from enjoying the *vṛttis* till the dues were paid.) The king (?) said, “the matter should be settled according to law; and might is inadmissible. Summon a *sabha* here and secure (a copy of) the *Vijnāneśvariya*”. The members of the *sabhas* of Nandyāla, Nandavaram and Veddugāṇḍla, being summoned by the king, constituted themselves into a *dharmaśana* and asked Peddi Bhaṭlu Mallu Bhaṭlu to state his case.

Peddi Bhaṭlu Mallu Bhaṭlu stated before the *sabha* that he had been in enjoyment of $15\frac{1}{2}$ *vṛttis* at Karivena. As he was not allowed to enjoy the produce from them, he came there to seek justice. When the *karanam* and the members of the *sabha* were questioned why they so prohibited him, they replied as follows:—

(The village has been subjected to several items of Expenditure):—

1. The *danduga* or fine collected by
Uddanda Vōbularāju ... ga. 40

2.	Compensation in cash to the farmers for the grain plundered during Rāmarāja's rebellion	... ga.	24
3.	Subsistence allowance etc. for the duns who came (to demand money)	... ,	21
4.	Wages (paid for the repair of) the fort.	,,	12
	Total ...	,,	<u>97</u>

(Besides these, the village also suffered a loss of) ga. 128. $rū. 4\frac{5}{8}$ being the price of *kh.* 12, *tū.* $13\frac{3}{4}$ of paddy at the rate of ga. 10 per *kh.* which Rāmarāja forcibly seized when he was encamped at Mosalimadugu. The total amount of expenditure on account of the financial difficulty of the village is ga. 225 $rū. 4\frac{5}{8}$. When he was asked to pay his quota, Peddi Bhatlu Mallu Bhatlu refused to do so.

On hearing this statement of the *karapam* of Karivena, the *sthānāpatis* and the members of the *sabha* decided the dispute according to the injunctions of *Vijñāneśvara*. They summoned Peddi Bhatlu Mallu Bhatlu to their presence and said: When the village is burdened with expense should not the *sabha* meet it? You are in the enjoyment of a fourth of the village; you have to pay your proportionate share of the (*upakṣayas*). Peddi Bhatlu Mallu Bhatlu replied that the principal and the interest would be too much for him to pay. The *sabha* and the *sthānāpatis* made an enquiry and came to the conclusion that he was not at all in a position to pay. Thereupon, they effected a compromise and persuaded the *sabha* (of Karivena) to take $3\frac{1}{4}$ *vr̥ttis* (out of $15\frac{1}{4}$ *vr̥ttis* owned by him) in lieu of the money due from him. They summoned the *karapam*, Parvatarāju before them and in the presence of the *sabha* had the transaction entered into the village register (*kavile*). They told (Peddi Bhatlu Mallu Bhatlu): 'the tax and the produce counterbalance each other; you need not pay the *upakṣayas* in future. Whatever expenditure the village may have to incur owing to political changes in future on

your account, the *sabha* will meet it from the income of these *vrttis*'. This was also recorded in the *kavile* in the presence of the *sabha*.

Witnesses :

Hari and Hara.

Sign manual :

Sri Virapratapa.

From the ancient records of Karivena Agraharam: Mac. MSS. 15-4-29, pp. 12-14.; L.R. 55, pp. 138-9.

251. THE SETTLEMENT OF A SUIT REGARDING REDDARIKAM OF NAVANANDULA-NITTURU.

SUMMARY.

Introduction :—While the *karanam*, Kondrāju Siddirāju and Cāmula Dēvi Reddi were carrying on the administration of Navanandula-Nitturu, Vumdavōlu Bōdi Reddi came from Morasu-rājya (Kolār) and laid claim to the office of the *Reddi*. Dēvi Reddi, the incumbent of the office at the time, expelled Bōdi Reddi from the village. Thereupon, Bōdi Reddi went to the king, and obtained from him an order (*dimmattu*) addressed to Pemmasāni Cinna Rāmalinga Nāyadu commanding him to investigate the complaint. On seeing the king's order, Cinna Rāmalinga Nāyadu sent Dēvi Reddi and Bōdi Reddi to Yādaki to have their case tried by the merchant guild of the place. After one month they, 'making their place',* were sent to Tādipatri to the merchant guild with a request that the latter should communicate to them their decision by means of a letter.

There is the duplicate of the record together with the *ayalēkha* with Māmuḍūri Siddhirāju, the *karanam* of Nitturu. The *jayalēkha* bears the date S. S. 1523, Plavanga, Vaisākha iu. 10.†

Pemmasāni Rāmalinga Nāyadu summoned the *Mahājanas* resident in the *agrahāras* of Salakasamudra, Venkaṭagiri and Kāvērisamudra together with the *karanam* and the *āyagārs* of Navanandula-Nitturu probably to assist the merchant guild in

* The original has 'sthalamucusukoni', a technical term the meaning of which is not clear.

† May 17, 1601 A.D. The cyclic year is not Plavanga but Playa.

deciding the dispute. The merchant guilds of Tādipatri and Cāmalūru asked Cāmala Dēvi Reddi in the presence of Bōdi Reddi, and the *karanam* and the other *āyagārs* to state his case.

Dēvi Reddi asserted that the *kāṇayācci* was his; but in the course of the statement which he made in support of his contention, he frequently contradicted himself. He could not give a satisfactory explanation of the manner in which his family acquired the *kāṇayācci*, although he undertook to prove by the evidence of the *āyagārs* that he had a share in it. Bōdi Reddi made a long statement in which he traced the history of his family from the time of Bukka I, who appointed his ancestor Uṇḍavōlu Śivā Reddi as the *reddi* of the village. He said that his people were obliged to flee from the village owing to the terror caused by the invasion of an army from the north ten years ago (A.D. 1591). Subsequent to the flight of his family Dēvi Reddi assumed the *reddiship* when people returned to the village once again.

Having heard both the sides, the elders who assembled there decided as follows:—

1. Though Dēvi Reddi claims the *kāṇayācci*, he is not able to produce any evidence in support of his claim except present possession; but as he is not able to explain the manner of the acquisition of the *kāṇayācci*, mere possession alone, according to the *śmṛti*, does not make him the owner.

2. He asserted that he would prove by the evidence of the *āyagārs* that he had a share of the *kāṇayācci*; but failed to do so. Therefore, his own words made him a *hinavādi*.

3. Basi Reddi Kondaya filed four letters to strengthen the claim of Dēvi Reddi. Of these, one supports the contention not of Dēvi Reddi but of Bōdi Reddi. Another must be regarded as invalid in the light of the explicit statement of the *dharmaśāstras* that a document obtained by means of force cannot be accepted as evidence. Granting that the document is valid, theoretical admission of a claim without actual enjoyment

cannot entitle a man to any property, according to the *dharmasāstras*.

4. Bōdi Reddi proved that the *kāṇayācci* belonged to his family, by filing the *jayalekha* which his ancestors had formerly obtained from the *dharmasana* held at Acyutarāyapurā *agrahāra*.

Therefore, as Undavōlu Bōdi Reddi has shown that the *kāṇayācci* was acquired by legal means by his family which had been enjoying it for a long time unquestioned and uninterrupted in the presence of his opponent and with his knowledge, we declare that the *kāṇayācci* belongs to the said Bōdi Reddi; and that Dēvi Reddi has no right to it. Moreover, in our opinion it is outrageous that this question which had been formerly settled by the *Mahājana*s of Salakasamudra and Cikkapalli in a *jayalekha* should have been sent to us, although there is no cause for fresh investigation. Having decided in this manner we grant a *jayapatra* to Undavōlu Bōdi Reddi. It should be returned to him after your perusal.

The document bears the signatures of 40 people of Salakasamudra, and it was written with their consent by the *karanam* Timmarāju of Tādipatri.

Kaifiyat of Nittūru : L.R. 37, pp. 311 ff.



APPENDIX

252. THE HISTORY OF THE RĀVILLA CHIEFS.

SUMMARY.

(i) *Vīra-Malla*—Vīra Malla, born in the Kamma sub-sect of the Sūdra caste, cut to pieces in a battle that was fought near the fort of Gudikōṭa, the army of the Kutubu Śāhu, so as to win the admiration of *Kuntalādhipa* i. e. king of Vijayanagara, and obtained from him several titles.

(ii) *Tippa I*—Tippa I, a descendant of Vīra Malla, opposed the advancing army of the Gajapati, and having forced them to retreat, plundered their camp.

(iii) *Ayyapa I*—Tippa had two sons, Ayyapa and Venkatādri. The former begot a son called Tippa whom he crowned as the chief of his estate, and set out for Kandana-vōlu to assist Gōpālarāja in repelling an attack of the Mussalmans who were investing the fort. On his arrival at the place, he proceeded immediately to attack the besiegers; and put to the sword *dunēdārs* (heroes), *gharībs* (foreigners), *Pathāns*, *Abisies* (Abyssinians), and the Dekkanies. He cut the ropes of the tents of the enemy, and forced his way into the fort, where he was received with great honour by Gōpālarāja.

(iv) *Tippa II*—Ayyapa's son Tippa II won the applause of the rulers of the earth by plundering the famous fort Ādavāni as a *Suratani-lagga*. He put to death in the fight *vazīrs* and *dunēdārs*; cut down the proud Turuṣkas (Turks) without allowing them to escape; and put the *pālaigārs* to flight. Having thus acquired victory, he ruled the earth like Harischandra.

(v) *Linga I*—His son, Linga I, succeeded him. Linga I had two sons, Konda and Ayyapa II.

(vi) *Konda I*—Konda I ruled the earth in the manner of the sixteen emperors of yore. He crowned his sons as

the rulers of his estate. He went to Mānavapuri to attack the army of Yedula Śāha (*i.e.* the 'Ādil Shāh) like a lion springing upon a herd of deer. In the fight that ensued, though he displayed considerable heroism and slew several distinguished warriors on the side of the enemy, he was ultimately killed by them.

(vii) *Linga II* :—Linga II, the most distinguished among the sons of Konda I, succeeded his father. He had a son called Rāmabhadra. Having established himself at Tirumānikōṭa, Linga II began to harass the forts and towns belonging to other chiefs in the neighbourhood. On hearing of the activities of Linga II, Abdula Pāduśāha ('Abd-ul-lah Quṭb Shāh) summoned the *dunēdārs*, and the *mannes*, and sent them against him. When they came and surrounded him, he attacked them fiercely; and having put to flight all the enemies, he showed the way to Penugonda, and won the approbation of *Dalavāy Venkata*.

(viii) *Ayyapa II*, the younger brother of Konda I :—Ayyapa II was honoured by Sri Rāmarāja by the presentation of a crown.

(ix) *Konda II* :—Konda II, the son of Ayyapa II, was a devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu.

(x) *Rāmabhadra* :—Konda II had two sons, Rāmabhadra and Timma. Rāmabhadra was held in high esteem by kings.

(xi) Timma was fond of adventure.

Saugandhikaprasavāpaharanam.

253. VENKATA III AND TIRUMALA NĀYAK OF MADURA.

SUMMARY.

A messenger from Madura brought a letter to Rāmayyan in which Tirumala Nāyaka stated that he had heard from the Rāya that the Mughal Pādshā's forces, with Golkonda cavalry numbering 30,000, had occupied the passes, ravaged the Rāya's territory and plundered Vijayanagara (Vijayapuram) and Vellore; they were about to move further south and

the Rāya wanted urgent relief; so Rāmayyan was to reach Madura at once. Rāmayyan welcomed the chance of showing his valour against the Muslims and taking leave of his lieutenants in the camp including his son-in-law, Kondappayyan, after giving them instructions and promising to return on the eighth day, he travelled in state by palanquin *via* Māna-Madura, and Tiruppūvanam; reaching Madura he had audience with Tirumala to whom he promised an easy victory against the Muslim troops, and much booty including fine horses at the end of the campaign; Tirumala blessed his enterprise and gave him a hearty send off. Rāmayyan's route northward lay along Tuvarimān, Sōlavandān, Vadāmadura, Dindigal, Tekkamalai, Maṇappārai, Irattaimalai, Trichinopoly, Śrīrangam, Samayapuram, Kannanūr, Üttattūr, Vālikondapuram and Ārni to Vellore, and thence to Bangalore where the Rāya was in camp. The day after his arrival he had audience with the Rāya who described to him the ravages of the Muslims and urged the need for early action against them. Rāmayyan made light of the enemy and promised to clear the country of him in no time and bring back victory with a number of horses and elephants taken from them. He was given betel leaf and areca nuts by the Rāya and sent to his task. Rāmayyan then sent word to Ikkēri (Ikkarai) Venkāṭakṛṣṇayyar and secured his willing co-operation. Together, they completely routed the Muslim forces, and Rāmayyan captured 60 elephants, 50 camels and a thousand horses from the enemy and produced them before the Rāya as he had promised. The Rāya embraced him with pleasure and gave him many valuable presents. When the Rāya wanted him to stay in his court, Rāmayyan asked to be allowed to go to Tirumala who was dear to him, and promised to come back at the call of the Rāya, if necessity arose as he had just done. Rāmayyan then took leave of the Rāya and returned to Madura with his victorious army.

A D D E N D A .

60(j) THE POSITION OF DANCING WOMEN.

Summary : Śrinātha makes a bitter attack, in this verse, upon the depraved morals of his contemporaries who showed marked partiality to the company of the courtesans rather than poets and musicians.

176. DODDA SANKANNA'S OTHER VICTORIES.

Summary : Dodda Sankanna defeated in battle a certain Virūpanna Odeyer and captured from him the forts of Jambūr and Uduganeyakōta. He took possession of the fort of Mādēvapura and having defeated the enemies that came against him seized their territory.

